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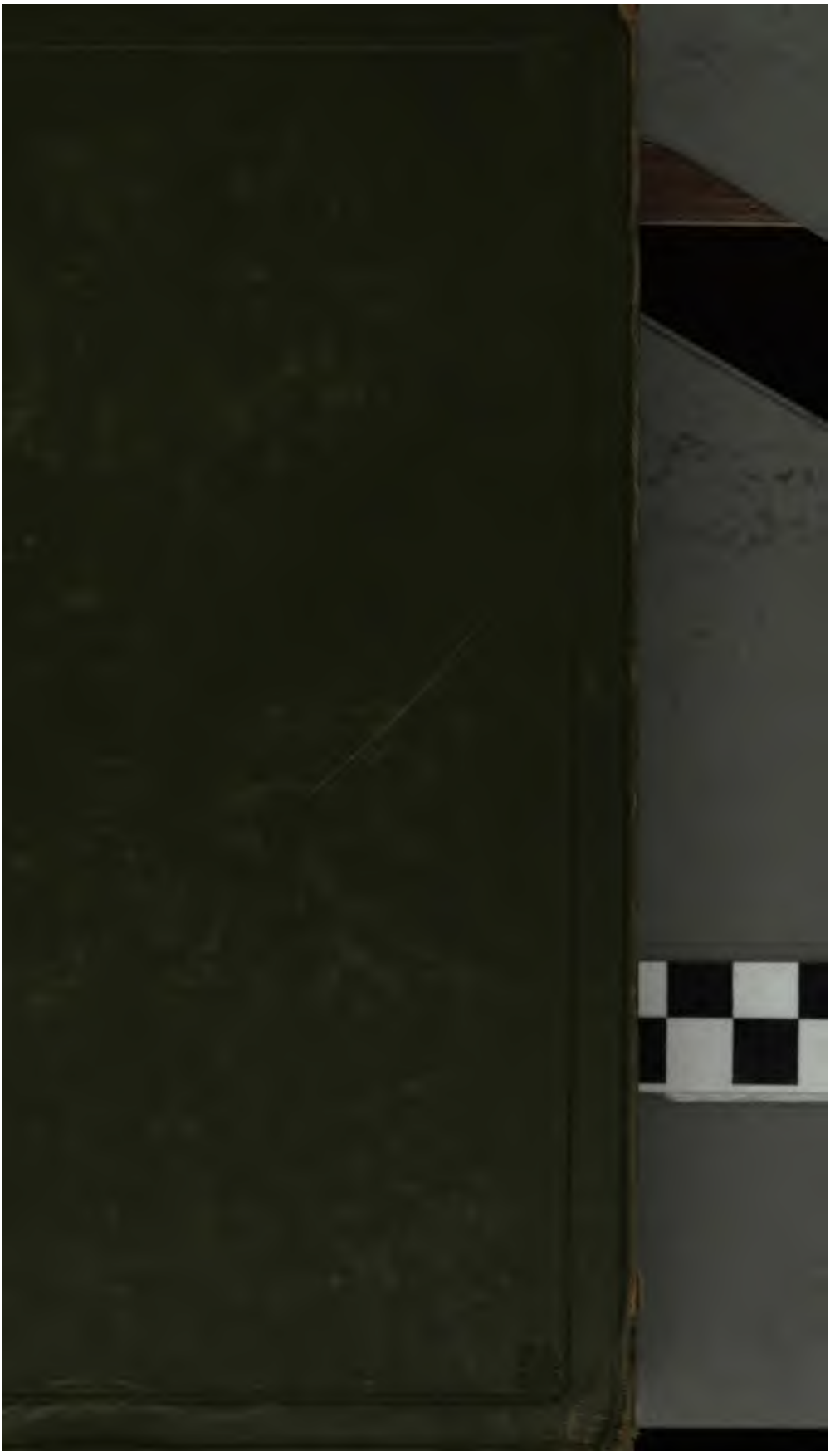

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SIR JOHN RERESBY

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THE MEMOIRS

OF

SIR JOHN RERESBY

OF THRYBERGH, BART., M.P. FOR YORK, &c.

1634–1689

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

BY JAMES J. CARTWRIGHT, M.A. CANTAB.

OF H.M. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

AUTHOR OF 'CHAPTERS OF YORKSHIRE HISTORY'

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210. j. 413

PREFACE.

THE MEMOIRS of SIR JOHN RERESBY (so called) were first published in the year 1734; they were reprinted in 1813. About two years ago the original manuscript from which they were derived came into the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum, and it was found, upon comparing it with the printed version, that not only had great alterations been made in Reresby's language and manner of narration, but also that much interesting matter had been altogether omitted. The present edition has been undertaken to supply these omissions, and to restore the exact words of the writer,—with the result, it may unhesitatingly be said, of producing a substantially new work.

Among the valuable family papers preserved at Spencer House, St. James's, is an interesting series of letters from Sir John Reresby to the Marquis of Halifax, the use of which in the preparation of this volume was most courteously allowed by Earl SPENCER. Extracts from these letters will be found in the notes. The editor is also under great obligations to Mr. EDWARD A. BOND, of the British Museum, in whose custody the Reresby papers now are, for the facilities afforded him in transcribing those manuscripts.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Design of the Work—The Reresbys at Thrybergh—The Tradition of St. Leonard de Reresby—Alliances formed by the early Members of the Family—Thomas and his Sons—Sir Thomas as High Sheriff—Sumptuous Mode of Living—Quarrel with Sir Thomas Wentworth, and consequent Fine in the Star Chamber—His Death—Strange Conduct of his Widow—Sir George Reresby, his Life, Character, and Amusements—Account of Sir John Reresby (Father of the Writer) and his Brothers—Their Adventures in the Civil Wars—Sir George's Daughters, Mary, Elizabeth and her three Husbands, &c.—Education and Pursuits of the First Sir John—Altercation at York with a Gentleman, resulting in the Death of the latter—Tried for Murder, and acquitted—His Part against the Parliament, Confinement, and the Sequestration of his Estates—Circumstances of his Death—The Yarburghs of Snaith and Campsall—An Account of the Writer's Brothers 1

CHAPTER II.

Sir John's Birth and early Years—Waits upon King Charles I. at Rotherham—Description of School at Enfield Chace—Admitted at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Gray's Inn—Life and Associates in the Temple—His irritable Temperament—A Quarrel—Condition of the Gentry under the Commonwealth—Notice of Cromwell—Travels abroad with a Tutor—Paris—Blois—Friends and Celebrities—Amusements and Adventures at Le Mans, Saumur, and Lyons—Notes in Switzerland and Italy—University of Padua—Pursuits in Venice—Visits to Florence, Inspruck, Munich, Augsburg, and Frankfort—Return to England—His match-making Mother—Conduct of London Citizens—Insecurity of the Royal Party 21

CHAPTER III.

PAGE

Death of Cromwell—His Character—Richard Cromwell—The Duke of Buckingham—Sir George Booth's Plot in the North—Signs of the coming Restoration—Sir John at Paris again—The Queen Mother's Court there—Elizabeth Hamilton—Dr. Cosin—Crossing the Channel under Difficulties—Introduction at Court—The future Lady Reresby—Quarrel at Selby—Visit to Malton—The Court at Whitehall—King Charles and Public Affairs—Lord Clarendon—Skirmish with Rebels at Caen Wood—The Coronation—Assembling of Parliament—Court Anecdotes—Buckingham as Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding—Reresby a Deputy Lieutenant and Cornet of Volunteers—At Portsmouth with the King to meet the Infanta—Scarborough Spa—County and Family Affairs 39

CHAPTER IV.

Adventure in Moorfields—Hunting with the Royal Brothers—Duel with an Irish Gentleman—Farnley Wood Plot—At York and Pontefract with the Militia—Sir Henry Bellasis—Anecdote of Lord William Russell—War with the Dutch—Reresby's Marriage—Family Differences—Inventory of his Effects—His three Brothers—The Great Plague—Duke and Duchess of York visit York—Sir John seeks to be High Sheriff—With Buckingham and his brother Officers at York—Amusements and Intrigues there—The Countess of Shrewsbury—Quarrel between Buckingham and Lord Fauconberg——The Duke shows the white Feather—Disaffection at Leeds—The Great Fire—Reresby High Sheriff—Duties and Profits of the Office—Buckingham's Relations with the King—His Disgraces and Restorations to Favour—Lord Burlington as Lord-Lieutenant—York Assizes—The East Coast threatened by the Dutch—Public Affairs—Colonel Blood at Ferrybridge—Changes in the Government—Clarendon's Fall—Buckingham Chief Minister—Improvements at Thrybergh—Yorkshire Gardening—Death of Reresby's Mother—The old Duke of Newcastle—Court Visitors—Death of the Duke of Albemarle—Reresby a Justice of the Peace—The Princess of Orleans—The Duke of York and the Nonconformists—The Coventry Act—Anecdote of the Prince of Orange 58

CHAPTER V.

Family Affairs and Lawsuits—Proclamation of Indulgence—Victory over the Dutch—Lord Halifax in the Privy Council—Lady Monson, Viscountess Castlemaine—the King and the Bankers—Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds) made Lord High Treasurer—Sir Henry Goodricke—Reresby stands

PAGE

for a Yorkshire Borough--Opinions in Parliament—Formation of Parties—Aldborough Election—Five Candidates and nine Electors —Benson the Attorney—Double Return—the Duke of York's Marriage—Buckingham and the Lord Treasurer—Meeting of Parliament —Election Petition—Sir John voted a Member—His Opinion of Parties—The King's Debts—Ways and Means—Waller the Poet—Grievances—Luzance the Jesuit—Lord Cavendish and Colonel Howard—Sir John Fagg—A Question of Privilege—The Hallamshire Corporation of Cutlers—the Hearth Tax—Death of Benson —Summer Visitors at Thrybergh—Malicious Accusation against Reresby—Attempt to gain his Estates—Conversations with the King and Danby on Public Affairs—The Duke of Norfolk and his Brothers—The King and the Money Bills—Disputes between the Houses—At Windsor—English Relations with France—Danby and Ormond—Danby confides in Reresby—The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale at Ham—Disputes between the King and the Commons—Interview with the Duke of York—Farming the Revenue —Lord Yarmouth and Lord Henry Howard 84

CHAPTER VI.

Yorkshire Matters—Reresby dines with the Cutlers at Sheffield—Meets with an Accident—Barnsley and Leeds Sessions—In London again —Alliance with the Prince of Orange—Warm Debates in the House—Desire for a War with France—Sir John's Seat again threatened—Sir William Wentworth of Wakefield—Sir Godfrey Copley and his Son—French Successes—Ill Counsellors—Conversations with Charles and the Duke—The Governorship of Burlington—Charges against the Duke and Danby—A Quarrel at the King's Playhouse—Wentworth's designing Conduct—Royal Influence used for Reresby—Anecdotes of the King and the Duke—Foreign Affairs—The Commons' Opposition to the King's Advisers —Prorogation—The Peace with France—Sir Solomon Swaile—Wentworth's Folly—How Elections were managed—York Assizes —Improvements at Burlington—The Popish Plot—The King's Speech to Parliament—Debates and Examinations in the House on the Plot—The King's Disbelief of it—Coleman's Letters—The Duke of York and the Test Act—Montagu's Charges against Danby —Incensement of the Commons—Danby's Defence—Articles against him—His Impeachment—Opposition of the Lords—Parliament Dissolved—Canvassing at Aldborough—Reresby again returned . 122

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the new Parliament—The Duke sent to Flanders—The Choice of Speaker—Danby driven to resign—Bitterness of the

PAGE

Commons against him—The King's Indifference—Sir John moralises on the Uncertainty of Greatness—Danby committed to the Tower —Discharge of the Privy Council—The Duke of Monmouth—Lord Halifax—Reresby loses his Seat—Demonstrations against a Popish Successor to the Crown—Charles maintains his Brother's Rights— Melancholy State of the Kingdom—Shaftesbury and Monmouth— Disputes between the two Houses—A Rising in Scotland suppressed—Reresby entertains Monmouth at Doncaster—Dissolution of Parliament—Preparations in Yorkshire for the General Election —Ungrateful and mercenary Electors—Sir John Kaye—At Welbeck and Hardwick—Polling at York and Pontefract—Quarrel between Reresby and Sir John Jackson of Hickleton—The Duke and Duchess of York journey Northward—The Duke of Newcastle entertains them—Reception at York—Monmouth in Disgrace— Formation of Cabals—Pretended Marriage of Charles—Conversations with the King and his Brother—County Matters—Trial of Papists at York—Mr. Tankard—Petitions of the Grand Jury—At Chatsworth and the Cutlers' Feast—Lord Halifax at Rufford— Parliamentary Proceedings against the Duke of York—The Yorkshire Petition—Fears of the King's Desertion of his Brother—The Duchess of Portsmouth—Great Debate in the Lords—Eloquence of Lord Halifax—Defeat of the Shaftesbury Party—Halifax in high Office—His Unpopularity with the Commons—He confides in Sir John—The loyal Party in Yorkshire—Trial of Lord Stafford—The Commons' Propositions to Charles—Anecdote of the King—A Dinner with Doctor Oates 162

CHAPTER VIII.

The Commons proceed against the King's chief Advisers—Halifax's private Views on the Matter—Danby's Opinion of the King— Laurence Hyde, Lord Rochester—The Doncaster Postmaster killed by Lord Eglinton—Conduct of Lord Halifax—A new Parliament —Negotiations about Aldborough—A Journey with the Duke of Newcastle—At Rufford—Halifax's Opinion of Affairs—Pontefract and Aldborough Elections—The Duke of Newcastle's Jealousy of Halifax—Lord Elland—Yorkshire Petition against the Duke of York—The Parliament at Oxford—Arguments for and against the Bill of Exclusion—Impeachment of Fitzharris—The two Houses at variance—Dissolution—Threatened Seizure of the King—Reresby in high Favour—Bold Opposition to the Government—The just and gracious Prince—Reresby's Illness—Promise of the Government of York—Lord Frescheville—Country Visits and Duties—A loyal Address from Sheffield—Popularity of the Duke in Scotland —With the King at Newmarket—Halifax on Public Affairs—Successes of the King of France—Anti-Court Influence in the City—

PAGE

Charles's Remark thereon—Nevison the Highwayman—Sir Henry Goodricke as Ambassador in Spain—Shaftesbury and the Ministers—Reresby made Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster—Halifax and the Duchess—Shaftesbury set at Liberty—Rejoicings of the Rabble—The Papists in Westminster—Disgrace of Monmouth—Halifax on the Duke of York—The Earl of Argyll—Reresby seeks Employment abroad 198

CHAPTER IX.

At Court—Mr. Thynne and Lady Northumberland—Anecdotes of Halifax—Danby in the Tower—An Ambassador from Morocco—Transportation of the six Priests—City Address to His Majesty—Lord Lumley—Great Floods—Disagreement between Ministers about calling a Parliament—Murder of Mr. Thynne—Political Importance attached to it—Reresby's Activity in investigating the Matter—Capture of the Murderers—The King's Anxiety—Arrest of Count Coningsmark—Attempt to bribe Reresby—The Trial—Lord Frescheville—Prospects of Sir John's Succession to him at York—Sir Thomas Slingsby—Journey with Halifax—The Duke of York and Halifax—Charles's Pursuits at Newmarket—Death of Frescheville—Reresby Governor of York—His Opponents—Family Troubles—Shipwreck of the Duke of York—Monmouth's foolish Conduct towards Halifax—The Irish Lieutenant—Halifax's Frankness in public Affairs—Reception of the new Governor at York—Conference with the Lord Mayor there—Hallamshire Smiths again—A Quarrel at Rotherham Sessions—Lords Halifax and Sunderland—Lieutenant Batty killed—Lord Elland and Lady Catherine Cavendish—Jealousies at Reresby's Preferment—York Garrison—Disgrace of Lord Mulgrave—Entertainments at York—Alderman Ramsden—The Corporation threatened—Conditions of Submission—Characters of York Citizens—An old English Christmas at Thrybergh 229

CHAPTER X.

Halifax and Lord Rochester—The missing Hearth-money—The Duke of York and his Favourites—Opinions in the City—Despondency of Halifax—Court Influence used against him—Danby still in the Tower—The Duchess of Albemarle—The Duke of Richmond supersedes Buckingham as High Steward of York—Celebrations there—The Rye House Plot—Alarm in Yorkshire—Activity of the Justices—Lord Burlington—The Scotch Pedlars—The Doncaster Corporation—Dispute in York Minster with Sir John Brook—Archbishop Dolben—Affairs in London—Monmouth surrenders himself

PAGE

—Charles's Fondness for him—Jealousy of the Duke of York's Party—The Lord Mayor of York summoned before the King—The Duke of York and Halifax—A Duel by Moonlight . . . 268

CHAPTER XI.

Halifax's Arguments to the King for a new Parliament—Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and the Middlesex Magistrates—A hard Frost—Successful Efforts to release Danby—His Reception at Court on leaving the Tower—Reresby and the Duchess of Portsmouth—James's Speech about Buckingham—Diversions at Newmarket—Rochester and his Friends—Lord Dartmouth—The York Charter—The King's Birthday—Jeffreys at York Assizes—Sir John's Entertainment of him—Conduct of the York Corporation—Changes in the Ministry—Triumph of Halifax—At Nottingham Castle—The French Interest—Danby in the Country—Festivities at York—Reresby proposed as a Member for the City—Christmas at Thrybergh again 293

CHAPTER XII.

Hallamshire and the Hearth-tax—Quarter Sessions at Doncaster—Serious Illness of the King—Fears in Yorkshire—Preparations at York against Tumults—The News arrives of the King's Death—Proclamation of James the Second at York—Its Effect throughout the Country—Great Changes at Court—Reresby's Speech to the York Corporation—Chosen as a Candidate with Sir Metcalfe Robinson—Opposed by his Stepfather, Moyser—Aldborough in reserve—Canvassing the Citizens—Sir John heads the Poll—The Knights of the Shire—The York Apprentices—Fire at Thrybergh—Halifax and the King—The Coronation—Public Opinion—What the Catholics expected—Doctor Oates convicted—James's Promises to Parliament—The Commons' Address—The five York Aldermen—Lord Burlington and Goodricke—Debates on Religion—Ways and Means—First News of Monmouth's Rebellion—Preparations against it—The Duke's Declaration—Reresby's Views on Taxation—Defeat and Capture of the Earl of Argyll—Arrogance of Jeffreys—Progress of the Rebellion—Its Suppression—Conduct of Monmouth—His Execution—The Duke of Albemarle throws up his Employments—Personal Matters—The Norfolk Family—Halifax laid aside—James's Speech to both Houses—Opposition to the Popish Officers—Reason of Halifax's Dismissal—Ways and Means—The King's Reply to the Commons' Address—A Member committed to the Tower—Parliament prorogued—Insolence of the Catholics—Court Favourites disagree—Numerous Dismissals—Reresby dines with Jeffreys 311

CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE

Reresby's Children—Trial of Lord Delamere—Anecdote of Jeffreys—Lady Strafford's Funeral at York—The new Countess of Dorchester—Yorkshiremen at Merchant Taylors'—Jeffreys' drunken Freak—Parliament again prorogued—York Matters—Catholics in the Ascendant—Measures adopted by the King—Death of Archbishop Dolben—At Hounslow—Great Changes on the Bench—Chief Justice Jones—Eton School—Lord Feversham and Lady Margaret Cavendish—Papists in the Privy Council—Account of the York Garrison—Family Quarrels at Welbeck—York Hospitalities . . 353

CHAPTER XIV.

More Preferments of Catholics—York Assizes—A Case of Witchcraft—James's Efforts to suppress public Feeling—Reresby sounded by the Judge—Captain Fairfax and others lose their Commissions—Further Prorogations—Liberty of Conscience—Feeling of Dissenters—Buckingham's Death—Old Custom at Rotherham—York Manor to be a Catholic Seminary—The Pope's Nuncio at Windsor—Lords Feversham and Preston at Thrybergh and Welbeck—A curious Courtship—Judge Alabon at York—Conduct of Protestant Justices—Hunting at Clipston—The King's Progress—The eccentric Marquis of Winchester at Rufford—James's Displeasure against the Church—Doctor Hough, of Magdalen—Progress of Lord Feversham's Love Affair—The Duchess and her Daughter—The Doncaster Corporation—York Manor—The King's Questions to the Justices, and their Effect—Displacement of Lord-Lieutenants . . 368

CHAPTER XV.

The Earls of Oxford and Burlington displaced—Disturbance at York—Address from Justices at Pontefract—A Catholic's Opinion of Affairs—Examination and Committal of the Seven Bishops—Scenes at Westminster and the Tower—The Trial—Public Rejoicings at the Result—James visits the Fleet—Public Apprehensions—Promise of a Parliament—Reresby's Seat for York threatened—His Conversation with the King thereon—Devices for his Support—Army Discontent—Proceedings at York—Threatened Landing of the Dutch—Suspected Designs of the Yorkshire Gentry on William's behalf—The Catholic Lord-Lieutenants superseded by the Duke of Newcastle—Lord Danby—A List of Deputy-Lieutenants of the three Ridings—Public Indifference about the Invasion—Declaration of the Prince of Orange—The young Prince of Wales—Militia Service at York—Landing of William—Sir Henry Goodricke and the Duke—York surprised and its Governor taken Prisoner—Danby's Share in

PAGE
the Matter—Treacherous Attempt of Lord Churchill—The King's Friends desert him—Proclamation for a free Parliament—Hull surprised—The Queen and Prince, followed by James, withdraw privately—William invited to London—The Catholics attacked by the Rabble—Jeffreys caught in Disguise at Wapping—James's Passage intercepted—The new Members for York—William's Reception at St. James's—A Convention Parliament—The Prince's Reply to the Commons' Address 390

CHAPTER XVI.

The Prince of Orange summons the Convention—Changed Appearance of London—The Throne declared vacant—Discussions in the two Houses—Opinions of Seymour and Doctor Burnet—Halifax justifies his Support of William—Mob Influence—James's Flight due to Halifax—The Court Lady's Account of James—Halifax's insecure Position—William and Mary voted to the Throne—An Interview with Halifax—Murmurs against William—Proclamation of the new Sovereigns—Illegalities to be redressed—The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy—The new Privy Council—Danby and Halifax—The Convention converted into a Parliament—Danby's desponding View of Affairs—Reresby introduced to King William—Intentions of James—Halifax's cautious Policy—Lord Bellasis—Desertions in the Army—Enmity against Halifax—Lords Willoughby and Mordaunt—Conversations with Halifax—Attitude of William towards the Church—European Affairs—Conduct of the Bishops—The Dissenters—Scarcity of Supplies—Opinions of Halifax—The Coronation—Burnet and Halifax blame the Commons' Proceedings—Prospect of a War with France—Suspicion of Sir John's Loyalty—Sir William Temple's Son—The King's State of Health—A last Conversation with Halifax—Note on Reresby's Death and Descendants 428

THE MEMOIRS

OF

SIR JOHN RERESBY

CHAPTER I.

Design of the Work—The Reresbys at Thrybergh—The Tradition of St. Leonard de Reresby—Alliances formed by the early Members of the Family—Thomas and his Sons—Sir Thomas as High Sheriff—Sumptuous Mode of Living—Quarrel with Sir Thomas Wentworth, and consequent Fine in the Star Chamber—Death and Strange Conduct of his Widow—Sir George Reresby, his Life, Character, and Amusements—Account of Sir John Reresby (Father of the Writer) and his Brothers—Their Adventures in the Civil Wars—Sir George's Daughters, Mary, Elizabeth and her three Husbands, &c.—Education and Pursuits of the first Sir John—Altercation at York with a gentleman, resulting in the Death of the latter—Tried for Murder, and acquitted—His Part against the Parliament, Confinement, and the Sequestration of his Estates—Circumstances of his Death—The Yarburghs of Snaith and Campsall—An Account of the Writer's Brothers.

THE design of what I write here is not 'Genus jactare.' It is a mean thing to endeavour to raise oneself higher by standing upon the shoulders of the living, or on the tombs of the dead.

Perit omnis in Illo
Nobilitas cujus Laus est in origine sola.

That person's honour cannot be long-lived
Which only from his pedigree's derived.

And yet a good extraction doth add lustre to personal merit:

Quem genus et genius nobilitant est vere nobilis.

There ought to be a generosity of the mind as well as of the blood, and I could heartily wish that others of our family may consider their being of it, not as a principle but an accessary to virtue.

The true reasons of digesting these records of our family into the following method were these :—

To instruct posterity as well as the living, how long it hath pleased Providence to continue us in the same name and place, and to incite them thereby so to demean themselves according to the rules of conscience and honour as to obtain a longer continuance of the same mercy.

To save such the labour of turning over a great many obscure papers, as are curious to know what hath passed in their family, and that please themselves (as I have done) with 'Olim meminisse.'

To preserve memorials of some things of use as well as of curiosity, which age as well as want of care to preserve hath near already consumed.

Ralph de Reresby, of Ashover, co. Derby, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph de Normanville, and sister and heiress of Adam de Normanville, in right of whom the manor of Thrybergh, the lordship of Brinsford, &c., came into the Reresby family during the reign of Henry III.

A deed dated 1349 is the first that mentions the altar of Saint Leonard, the tutelar Saint of Thrybergh, according to the custom of Roman rites. Tradition will have him to have been one of the family of Reresby, and conveys to us a long story concerning him, the substance of which is this :—That one Leonard de Reresby, serving his prince in the holy war, was taken prisoner by the Saracens, and there detained captive nearly seven years; that his wife, according to the law of the land, was towards being married to another; that being apprehensive of this accident, by the power of prayer he was miraculously delivered and insensibly conveyed with shackles and gyves or fetters upon his limbs, and laid upon the East Hill

in Thrybergh Field as the bells tolled for his wife's second marriage, which her first husband's return prevented; though he presently died as soon as brought into the church, where he desired to pay his first visit.

I shall not undertake either to comment or extenuate upon this story, either to make it more or less probable. Only this I must say, superstition gave such credit either to this or the like story, that an ancient cross remains to this day upon the same East Hill, though defaced in the late time, called St. Leonard's Cross; the church of Thrybergh and the great bell are dedicated to St. Leonard; his picture in chains and fetters was in the church window till of late broken down; and, as some will have it, his festival observed in the family on Whit-Sunday, and his fetters preserved in the house till my great-grandfather, Sir Thomas Reresby's time; when in his absence they were converted into ploughshares by his wife's orders.

This Sir Thomas was the grandson of Lionel Reresby, second son and heir of Thomas Reresby, who married Anne, daughter of Robert Swift, of Rotherham, Esquire. Tradition tells us that Thomas Reresby had contracted a vast debt upon the estate, which Lionel by his discreet management and his wife's portion (which was greater than ordinary for those days) did not only clear, but he considerably added to the paternal estate by new purchases.

Lionel Reresby had Thomas, Ralph, William, and Leonard, who married the daughter of Thomas Hardwick, of Potternewton, near Leeds, and had issue an only daughter called Editha, whom Francis Tindall, of Brotherton, Esq., married without her father's consent, having by her £500 per annum land of inheritance and several children; the heir of the family continues there to this day. This Leonard died at the parsonage in Barnborough, which he had in farm.

Of Lionel's eight daughters, Ellen married to Marmaduke Tyrwhitt, a younger son of Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby,

Lincolnshire, whose daughter married one Coates, of the same county, whose daughter married Sir John Ramsden, of Byrom; another daughter, Barbara, married, first, Thomas Pilkington, of Bradley, Esquire, whose only daughter married Ramsden of Byrom, grandfather to the aforesaid John Ramsden; Barbara married, secondly, Robert Savile, of Methley.

It is a great sign of good conduct of a good estate and reputation for a man to be able to marry eight daughters to husbands of good fortune and quality.

Thomas Reresby, son and heir of Lionel, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Babington, Esquire, by whom he had Thomas, who succeeded him; Francis, a commander in the Low Countries, where he died; William, intended for a clergyman, but would make no scholar. He lived with his aunt Coupledike, who left him £100, which he spent many years before he died, and chiefly in good fellowship. He died at Thrybergh, a little handsome old man, within my memory. Godfrey, fifth son of Thomas, brought up to the law, had a son William, killed in an engagement at Kilburn, in Derbyshire, in the civil wars; and another, Francis, a volunteer in Prince Rupert's troop, and afterwards Major in Sir Philip Monckton's regiment of horse, who continued in the war till the last. He was, after the war seemed ended, one of the principal persons with Colonel Morris at the taking of Pontefract Castle.

Tradition says that Thomas Reresby was a good landlord, lived hospitably, was diligent and knowing in the office of justice of the peace. As to his person, he was of a middle stature, strong made, with brown hair and red beard, rather lean than fat, long faced but a good aspect; his wife was a handsome woman, fair haired, of a middle stature, as may be discovered by their pictures in the gallery. He died about the year 1587.

Thomas, his eldest son, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth about the fortieth year of her reign.

The reasons given for his great expenses and debts were, his following the court without any other recompense but empty knighthood (though very rare and considered of great honour in those days), an expensive wife, his accompanying my Lord Lovel, sent anno 1593 Ambassador into Scotland, an humour to live high at the first, which he did not abate as his fortune decreased; his quarrel with Sir William Wentworth, and his giving him a box on the ear at Rotherham Sessions upon the bench, and his buildings, &c. He was Sheriff of Derbyshire, which office he was reported to have performed at too prodigal a rate, in the year 1613. I find among old papers a bill of fare for provisions at the Lent Assizes with this superscription upon it in Sir Thomas's own hand:—'The Steward's appointment for Lent Assizes at Derby, when I was Sheriff for that county,' wherein I find 15 several sorts of fowl, among others young swans, knots, herns, bitterns, &c., three venison pasties appointed for every meal, 13 several sorts of sea fish, 14 several sorts of fresh-water fish, each appointed to be ordered a different way, &c. Another great occasion of his expense was his great charge of children and great attendance, seldom going to church or from home without a great many followers in blue coats and badges, and beyond the usual number for men of his quality and fortune.

His ill management set aside, he was certainly a fine gentleman, both as to person and parts. He was very tall, well shaped, his face was handsome and manly, and he was well behaved. His conversation was pleasant and witty, and his company very acceptable to persons of the best quality of his neighbourhood, especially George, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, then most commonly resident either at Sheffield or Worksop manors. I had the greatest part of this character of him not only from those that knew him and had lived with him as his servants, but from the late old Duke of Newcastle, who was

educated with the said Earl of Shrewsbury, and remembered Sir Thomas Reresby as acquainted with him in that family very particularly.

He was certainly a man of great courage, though he expressed it not seasonably in giving Sir William Wentworth (father to the first Earl of Strafford) a box on the ear upon the bench at the General Sessions, held at Rotherham, the 8th of October, anno 41 Elizabeth. The whole narrative of this matter came lately to my hands as it was represented by Sir William Wentworth's friends to the then Earl of Shrewsbury, and since found amongst the said earl's papers. The short of which is as follows: That in the 39th year of the Queen Elizabeth a dispute happening between them as to some proprietorship of lands in Hooton Roberts, Sir Thomas Reresby sent his uncle, Leonard Reresby, to the said Wentworth to let him know that he was informed that the said Wentworth had challenged him, and which, if true, the said Wentworth was a liar and a coward; and further, that on Thursday after he might find Sir Thomas in a close of his own in Hooton aforesaid, with one servant with him, if he had aught to say to him. To whom Wentworth answered that such snares could not catch him, and advised Mr. Leonard Reresby to advise Sir Thomas to live at home in peace like a gentleman; but sent two gentlemen the day appointed to the place, where they found Sir Thomas, to acquaint him that the said Sir William Wentworth had no malice nor quarrel to him. Two years after, on the 8th of October, 41 Elizabeth, they both meeting on the bench at Rotherham Sessions, there happened a dispute concerning the return of juries and concerning the escape of a person out of the stocks, whether negligent or voluntary, between the two knights, which at the last flew so high that Sir Thomas told Sir William, 'In thy teeth, thou art a rascal, a villain, and darest not draw a sword. I sent thee a

challenge before this which thou durst not accept;' to which Sir William replying that he said untruly, herein Sir Thomas smote him on the face with his hand, and after pulled him so hard by the ears that he made them bleed; the servants, then espousing their masters' quarrel, drew their daggers, insomuch that the rest of the justices had made much ado to keep the peace in the court, and to hinder Sir Thomas following Sir William when he went to his inn. However, Sir Thomas waylaid him in a street where he used to pass homewards, but Sir William not going that way Sir Thomas returned to the bench. For this Sir Thomas was fined 1,000*l.* in the Star Chamber; but not having paid it all till King James came into England, he obtained the King's general pardon under the great seal, which released the remainder. For this he was also put out of commission of the peace as I suppose, for I find no mention of his name in the books of the Clerk of the Peace after that time.[1]

Some say that being a man of a high spirit, and his lady (who had changed her religion to papist) not so ob-

[1] One piece of evidence relating to this affair, and preserved among the Star Chamber Proceedings, 42 Elizabeth, is worth quoting. 'Richard Wortley, of Wortley, co. York, aged 39 years or thereabouts, deposed that Sir Thomas Reresby and Mr. Wentworth, falling into further speeches concerning the escape of one Slack out of the stocks, being then a matter in question at the said sessions, and differing in opinion whether the same were a wilful or negligent escape, and multiplying words thereabouts, Mr. Wentworth in conclusion told Sir Thomas Reresby that he was an ass, whereat Sir Thomas Reresby seemed much discontented, but yet forbore to make disturbance in the court, and wished the said Mr. Wentworth to forbear such provocations in that place. But yet, notwithstanding, the said Mr. Wentworth proceeded on in further terms, and in conclusion pressing on with a stern countenance near to Sir Thomas his face, told Sir Thomas that he lied, whereat Sir Thomas Reresby, to the imagination of this deponent, stood unresolved what to do (the place considered and the indignity offered). And Mr. Wentworth pressing towards him again, the said Sir Thomas thrust out his arm, and (as this deponent taketh it) flirted up his beard, or touched his nose, with his hand, whereupon Mr. Wentworth struck the said Sir Thomas with his fist, and divers of Mr. Wentworth's men approached to the place with their swords or rapiers drawn, whereupon he, this deponent, did then interpose himself between them and pacified the matter as soon as he could,' &c.

servant of him as she ought to be, disagreeing with him concerning their daughter, Lady Campall, gave him so great a discontent that he fell sick upon it, during which sickness she never would visit him (as one of two women told me) till he was past recovery, and she then persuaded him to go to a house he had at Newark for change of air, where he died in May, 1619, when about 55 years of age.

The lady Reresby, widow, kept possession of Thryberg Hall for some time, till Sir George, her son, coming from Ickles to make her a visit, and finding her abroad, shut the doors and kept the possession till he died, which his mother to return, being then at Derby, and hearing Sir George was sick, sent her gentlewoman, Mrs. Skinner, (who told me the story), under pretence of enquiring after his health, to get him arrested, which was performed by two bailiffs which attended on Mrs. Skinner as servants as Sir George lay sick in bed. This lady lived afterwards at Chesterfield and last at London, where she married again one Sir Simeon Steward, but disowned him afterwards, nor was he able to prove the marriage. Then she last married one Mr. Ballard, who had a competent estate, which he spent whilst her husband, and then died; but she lived till about eighty years of age, and lies buried in the chapel of Somerset House in the Strand. She was a woman of wit, but of a masculine spirit, a too great lover of sack as she grew in years, and unfortunate both to her husband, her son, and her family.

Sir George Reresby, knight, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas (christened after George, Earl of Shrewsbury) married Elizabeth, second daughter of John Tamworth, squire of the body to Queen Elizabeth, when about the age of eighteen years; he was knighted in 1614. His father gave him private education and not much learning, though he could not but be very capable of it, having (as appears by the character of those who knew him, as also

by the management of his concerns) a good natural wit and judgment. Being married, Brinsford and Ickles were settled upon him and his lady for their present maintenance, and for jointure to her in case of surviorship. So that Sir George lived at the Ickles for the most part that his father lived, and it is said that there was not that warmth of affection between the father and son that ought to have been, for I have heard that Sir Thomas was jealous that Sir George desired his death, and that he expressed it by taking my father, then very young, in his arms and saying, 'He might possibly live to revenge his quarrel,' which was construed to wish the same to Sir George. After the death of Sir Thomas Reresby, Sir George came to make his mother a visit at Thrybergh, when finding that she was gone out of the house, he shut to the door and kept her out of possession all the time of his life, as before related. By his death Sir John Reresby, his son, compounding with his grandmother to pay so much yearly for her life out of the whole estate as her jointure, this unfortunate dispute died out. Nor would Sir George have been able to defend it so long had not Sir Simon Steward of the Isle of Ely (who pretended to be married to the said lady Reresby, relict of Sir Thomas) released all the title, claim, &c., that he or his lady had in the said lands to Sir George, by deed bearing date Sept. 10, 1620, which was so ill resented by the lady (amongst other things) that she denied her marriage with Sir Simeon, which was, it seemed, so privately performed by a priest (if at all) that it could never be proved, as I have said before.

Sir George was remarkable for being expensive in clothes and in his journeys, but a great manager at home. He was thought to have money by him when he died, but he sold more than he bought for the family. As to his person he was very tall and handsome (as appears by his picture at length), brown hair and a red beard. He never took any public employment upon him

in his country, as being discouraged from it by being no scholar and his wife being a papist, who had changed her religion after her marriage; though I have heard it from those that were servants in the family that Sir George did both live and die a firm Protestant. His not being concerned in the county business gave him the more leisure to attend that of his estate, as to which I find he was very exact by a book of accounts of his time, though he left the family affairs and much of the husbandry to the care of his lady.

In the said book I find an abridgment of all the Brinsford leases, notes of the brass, pewter, linen, and other goods and furniture belonging to the house, and a particular of sheep and other goods, with memorandums of money lent and laid out, in which he was so particular that I find this among others written with his own hand, 'Item lent my wife at Lenten fair 4*s.* 9*d.*'

His diversion was sometimes hawks, but his chiefest was his breed of horses, in which he was very exact, but his breed was not of that reputation to get any profit thereby, and the keeping of much ground in his hands, both at Thrybergh and Ickles, for the running of his horses, which he might have let at good rates, made it the more expensive.

Sir George died of a consumption in the room over the north porch about the age of 43, and was buried in Thrybergh church the 4th of February, 1628. He outlived his father but ten years. He left his eldest son, and my father, but eighteen years of age, and then at Cambridge. His wardship was begged by some courtier, which his mother bought off for a small thing, though she made him pay £2,000 for moneys pretended that she had disbursed upon that account when he received his wife's portion. After the marriage of my father my grandmother removed to the Ickles, which was her jointure, where she continued for many years. Towards the latter

end of the wars she went to London, and continued there till she died. She was a very comely woman for her age, tall and straight, of quick apprehension and of a good judgment, but much led and persuaded by her confessor and priest. At my going to travel she recommended me to the Roman religion, desiring me to consider it well, for that there I should see it in its splendour, whereas it was under a cloud in England. And truly I do believe it was the greatest reason that she disposed of her own land away from me, that I could not be prevailed upon to change my religion; for I ever carried myself with great respect towards her, and found her very kind to me in all things but in that most material circumstance. This Lady Reresby died in London about the 10th of April, 1665, aged above seventy years, and disposed of the greatest part of her estate to Sir Tamworth Reresby, her eldest son then living.

Gilbert, the second son of Sir Thomas, was brought up with Isabel, Infanta of Spain, then Governess of the Low Countries, where afterwards, being out of pagehood, he commanded a company, and after a regiment of foot there for many years, till following Count Mansfelt in his revolt from the Infanta (being supposed to be in league with the Count's wife) he lost his command and fled to Paris, where he died many years after in good esteem, as I have heard there from persons who knew him. He had issue Eugenius, who did 'patrissare' as to his courage; having served long in the civil wars at home, he went into France and was killed in a duel by a Frenchman near Saumur.

Sir George had issue Sir John Reresby, Bart., christened after my Lord John Darcy the 11th day of April, 1611.—George, who proved very wild, but a man of great courage and conduct in the late civil war; he might have had very good command in the King's army, but contented himself with his first, that of lieutenant to Sir Thomas Glemham's troop of horse under Sir Marmaduke

Langdale, whom he accompanied in that famous raising of Pontefract siege, and got in it particular honour. After the war was ended he came to Thrybergh and there died; he was buried in that church the 6th of July, 1646.

Sir Tamworth Reresby, third son of Sir George, was lieutenant-colonel for the King in my lord of Newcastle's army under Colonel Aire, of Hastop, in his regiment of foot, afterwards major to his regiment of horse, where he continued till Allerton Moor fight; there, the King's party being routed, he escaped and continued in the garrison at Basing House till it was taken and himself also, wounded in his head and several parts of his body, and sent prisoner to Ely House in London. He continued there four months, till by the favour of a woman whose house joined to the chamber where he lay, he broke a passage into her house and escaped in woman's apparel, fled to the King at Oxford, where he continued to the end of the war.

He married Mrs. Mary Preston, widow of William Molins, of Sherfield Court in Hampshire, Esquire, who had a good jointure and the management of her son's estate till of age. After the King's return he was knighted, and my grandmother at her death settled all the lands of inheritance then in her power upon him, excepting what she gave to her youngest son as is before mentioned. His lady died about fourteen years ago, and the knight is yet a healthful handsome man. He continues a widower, lives constantly in London, and follows the diversions of a much younger man; at this time, being in the year 1679, he is above sixty years of age.

Besides other sons, of whom little beyond their births is recorded, Sir George had four daughters:—

Mary Reresby, a fine person of a woman by relation. She died the first Christmas after my father was married; found herself ill as she was dancing, went presently to her chamber, and died suddenly, which I the rather mention to show the uncertainty of this life.

Elizabeth, a handsome proper woman of great wit and conduct, and yet living. She married for her first husband, Sir Francis Foljambe of Aldwark, Bart., by whom she had no issue, but a great jointure of near £800 per annum. This made her a fitter match for her second husband, who was a younger son of Sir John Horner, of Somersetshire, his name Edward Horner, to whom she had several children; but they died all young except one daughter, called Tamworth Horner, married to Sir Roger Martin, of Suffolk, to whom she hath borne many children.

The said Lady Elizabeth Foljambe, outliving her second husband, married the Lord Monson, Viscount Castlemaine, for her third, one of the Long Parliament in the late unhappy times, and one of the King's judges, to whom she had one daughter, as yet not married. At his new Majesty's return, though this Lord Monson escaped the sentence of death, yet he was drawn to Tyburn upon a sledge with others under the same condemnation, was degraded from his titles, forfeited all his own estate, and was adjudged to prison during life, which he ended in the King's Bench not many years after. However, the king was graciously pleased at my intercession, and out of consideration that my family had ever been loyal and faithful to the Crown, to restore his lady and my aunt to her title of Vice-Countess Castlemaine, and to take place accordingly, which she enjoys at this day.

This third husband being dead, she married Adam Felton, Esq., son and heir of Sir Henry Felton of Suffolk, for her fourth husband, with whom she lives now at her house in Bury.

Diana, who behaved herself disobediently to her mother, which was a great affliction to her. She married one Keeble, son to a great lawyer in the late times, and, as I take, a judge; but she approved so little of her husband the next day that she would never own him for her husband. When she died she had near three thousand pounds, for which few of her relations were the better.

Caterina, who was deformed as to her person, and cast away herself by marrying one much inferior to her, after which her mother would never see her.

Sir John Reresby, son and heir of Sir George, was created Baronet upon the 16th day of May, 1642, married Francis, daughter of Edmond Yarburgh, of Snaith Hall, in the county of York, Esquire. He was born in April, 1611. Sir George Reresby finding the defect of scholarship in himself, repaired it as to the education of his eldest son, whom he brought up at school, and sent him to Cambridge, where he had continued near three years fellow commoner in Jesus College, when he was forced to return home upon the death of his father, being then near eighteen years of age. His condition as to his present fortune was narrow at the time of his marriage, and for some years after, so that his exceeding the limits of his fortune, and his sale both of land and wood, may seem the more excusable.

He was a lover of hawks for some time, but he left that off soon after and kept beagles, and was weary of them after a short trial, but was ever constant to his garden. When the Scotch war broke out, my father was major in the militia regiment within the wapontake of Strafford and Tickhill and the other hundred adjoining, the colonel of it at that time being Sir George Wentworth, and in the year 1639 he marched to York, where the regiment was appointed to rendezvous in order to their going to fight the Scots; but the peace being concluded, he went no further. This voyage, however, was very unfortunate to him both upon the account of the expense, and an ill accident that befel him, which was this:—

He being in company with Sir William Rooksby, a captain in the same regiment, and one other gentleman in a tavern in York, a gentleman unknown to any in the company, being something in drink, would force himself into the room, and there behaved himself so abusively that

my father thought himself concerned to put him down the stairs. The gentleman making resistance fell down and broke his skull, and dying not long after, my father was tried as guilty of his death, but was acquitted by the jury, the chirurgeon that had him in care deposing upon oath at the trial that he died of a disease which he had excessively upon him, and not of the wound in his head.

In the year 1642, when that unhappy war began between the King and Parliament, though his own principles led him to be loyal, most of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood taking up arms for the Parliament, he considered for some time how to declare himself; but at the last was active in the commission of array to raise men for the King, was with my Lord Newcastle in his army, and in several of the King's garrisons at York, Newark, &c., yet he would never accept of any command. However, he was as much exposed in his estate, and sometimes in his person, as those whose titles of command made them more active, till his being taken prisoner secured him in some measure from the danger of the latter, though not of the first. The manner of his being taken was in Bramley, as he was travelling in the night from Newark to his own house to see my mother, where a party of horse coming to quarter met him, and one of them clapping a pistol to his breast bid him stand and declare who he was, which he refusing to do, and putting spurs to his horse, the soldier had shot him, but that by Providence the pistol only fired in the pan, and did not discharge. However, being pursued by the whole party, he was stopped at a gate, and forced to surrender himself prisoner. Being taken, he was conveyed to the Lord Fairfax (then general of the Parliament forces) who committed him for some time; but at the last, by the intercession of friends, was prevailed with to make his own house his prison, to which he was strictly confined and under very severe penalties.

He continued at his house at Thrybergh, according to his engagement, till the beginning of March, 1646, when the King's affairs being in a desperate condition, his armies routed, and most of the garrisons surrendered into the Parliament's hands, he obtained leave to go to London to compound for his estate, which was under sequestration; but finding when he came there that he could not effect it without taking certain oaths which his conscience would not allow of (the Covenant being one), he returned *re infectâ*; and calling by the way at my lord Allington's, in Cambridgeshire, whom he called brother (they being dear friends) as appears by the kind letters that passed between them, he there got a surfeit of oysters, which, with his journey, put him into a fever, of which he died a fortnight after his return home, in April, 1646. I remember (though I was then but twelve years old) that he desired my mother not to trouble herself that he had not succeeded in his business, since he was returned with this comfort both to her and himself—of bringing with him a safe conscience.

As to his person he was certainly one of the handsomest men of his time, tall, straight, and well proportioned; his face very good but manlike, his hair brown and thick; his mien gentle but haughty, insomuch that many that knew him adjudged him proud at the first sight, but found him very obliging when once acquainted with him. He was extremely active, danced in perfection, leaped farther than most men, as King Charles the First did acknowledge, when he leaped with him at Doncaster, going then into Scotland. He seldom used his stirrup to mount his horse, but vaulted upon him, and would frequently leap into the saddle.

He was not less happy as to his inside than his out. Having an extraordinary intellect, a solid judgment, and a facetious wit, a handsome confidence, but a little subject to stammer or rather speak his words thick if in passion,

to which he was something prompt, though it was presently past, for he was of an extraordinary good nature.

Great lamentation was made for him at his death, by the country foreseeing how much he must be wanted in several respects, especially as to the office of justice of the peace; as to which he was both diligent and knowing, as may be seen by some charges left behind him which he gave at the sessions.

He was learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues, read and wrote much, as may appear by several things of his composure and written by his own hand now in my custody, especially some letters, a Book of Characters, which are very ingenious, some verses, &c. But he is chiefly to be read in his excellent book of essays or of advice to his children, especially to me his eldest son, which he thus dedicates:—

PATERNÆ ADMONITIONES DE RATIONE BENE VIVENDI
PATRIS AMANTISSIMI FILIIS SIBI CARISSIMIS PRECIPUE
NATU MAXIMO ET PRIMO GENITO
JOHANNI RERESBEO
DICATÆ.

I need say nothing in commendation of that book. I hope it will remain in the family many ages, to commend itself and its author. I only pray that posterity of this family may have as much ingenuity and virtuous inclinations to pursue those rules, as he had knowledge, piety, and tender affection to prescribe and direct them.

My mother, as I have said before, was daughter of Edmond Yarburgh, of Snaith Hall, Esq., who had also issue Sir Nicholas Yarburgh; Thomas Yarburgh, Esq., of Campsall, barrister-at-law, a gentleman of great knowledge in the statute and civil laws, and of considerable use and assistance both to his friends and country, especially in

the due and diligent execution of the office of justice of the peace; John Yarburgh, who died young; Edmond Yarburgh, doctor of physic.

This branch was descended from the family of Yarburgh, of Yarburgh, in Lincolnshire, the first line whereof being now extinct, it is since become the inheritance of Sir Thomas Yarburgh, son and heir of Sir Nicholas aforesaid. My mother brought a portion of between three or four thousand pounds to this family, and was a woman extraordinarily handsome, endowed with a great share both of wit and judgment, was an affectionate wife, a tender mother to her children, and understood that difficult mean in her expenses of doing everything with a good appearance and yet with good management, which was manifest by her paying 300*l.* of my father's debts in five years' time of her widowhood and living plentifully at Thrybergh all the time out of no great estate. There was but one thing to be objected in her particular, which was her second marriage, having so many children at the same time; and yet she was the more excusable in this that she married a gentleman of a competent estate, one that proved kind and just to herself and children; as also that she was but a young widow when she changed her condition. She married James Moyser, of Beverley, Esq., to whom she had issue four sons and one daughter, John Moyser, the youngest, only surviving at this day. This Lady Reresby died at Beverley, and was buried at Thrybergh upon the 7th day of September, 1668.

Sir John Reresby had issue John, christened after the same Lord John Darcy that was godfather to my father, Sir Francis Foljambe and my grandmother Yarburgh being sponsors upon the 21st April, 1634, and born the 14th April, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. Tamworth died young. Edmond, first bound apprentice to Alderman Colomin, of London, a wholesale woollen-draper, where having served his time, not having suffi-

cient stock to set up, and his genius being more inclined to a military employment, he trailed a pike for some years in the King's own regiment of Guards, till by some interest of mine, but chiefly by his own merit, having ever been remarkably diligent in the employment, the King gave him a colour, and since that having very well behaved himself at sea in all the engagements in the three several wars between us and the Dutch, he was advanced to be a lieutenant and stands fair at this day for a company, upon the first vacancy. He is tall, well proportioned and handsome, a man well esteemed by his fellow-soldiers and all that know him, both for his courage and good nature. He was born March 28, 1636.

George, born at Snaith; he lived to be a handsome youth, and died young.

Jervase, born the 6th of November, 1640; little, but well proportioned, one of an active and ingenious spirit. He served his time with a Spanish merchant, and though his stock was but little at his coming out of his time, he gained that good repute amongst the Spanish merchants in London by his diligent and honest dealing at his first going to be merchant at Cadiz, that at this day few persons abroad live with more reputation or do more business than himself. He and I did so much resemble each other that we have sometimes been taken for one another.

Francis died young.

Yarburgh, born the 28th of August, 1645, was brought up a scholar, studied divinity at St. John's College in Cambridge, where he was first scholar of the house, and hath since been fellow for many years; hath been five years in orders this 10th of November, 1679; hath commenced Bachelor of Divinity, is University Preacher, and parson of Thrybergh.

He had daughters: Bridget, that died young; Elizabeth, born the 4th of October, 1643, who lives yet un-

married, a woman of good sense, modesty, and of honour to her family.

And here I cannot omit giving thanks to Almighty God for disposing and enabling them to behave themselves so well in their respective stations in this world: a mercy not only to themselves but to me also, who am concerned from affection as well as relation in their good fortune.

CHAPTER II.

Sir John's Birth and early Years—Waits upon King Charles I. at Rotherham—Description of School at Enfield Chace—Admitted at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Gray's Inn—Life and Associates in the Temple—His irritable Temperament—A Quarrel—Condition of the Gentry under the Commonwealth—Notice of Cromwell—Travels abroad with a Tutor—Paris—Blois—Friends and Celebrities—Amusements and Adventures at Le Mans, Saumur, and Lyons—Notes in Switzerland and Italy—University of Padua—Pursuits in Venice—Visits to Florence, Inspruck, Munich, Augsburg, and Frankfort—Return to England—His match-making Mother—Conduct of London Citizens—Insecurity of the Royal Party.

I WAS born April the 14th, Anno Domini 1634, between seven and eight in the morning, in the great chamber of Thrybergh Hall, in the West Riding of the county of York; the first son of Sir John Reresby, Bart., by Frances his wife, daughter of Edmond Yarburgh, of Snaith Hall, Esquire.

By a fall from the window I disjointed my left knee at two years old, which being concealed and neglected at the first, could never after be reduced; but being active, by exercise (as I grew up), it became nearly as useful to me as the other, in dancing, fencing, or any other action performed with moderation. My father died at the age of thirty-five years, in 1646, having been taken prisoner two years before by the Parliament's party, and confined to his own house; leaving me, then twelve years of age, with four sons more and one daughter, to the care of an affectionate mother. He died indebted 1,200*l.*, besides the sale of between two and three hundred pounds per annum; not through ill-husbandry, but by reason of the war and the narrowness of his then present fortune,

there being two great jointures out of his estate till about three years before he died; this put him likewise upon the sale of a large wood (all of it great timber) that stood in the park. As the late unfortunate King Charles the First passed by Rotherham (brought back by the Parliament forces when sold by the treacherous Scots), my mother sent me to wait upon him, who said I was the son of an honest man.

I lived in the country, and was instructed at home by a tutor that lived in the house, till near the age of fifteen; by this time my mother had paid my father's debt, and then went to live at London, taking me, my second brother and sister along with her (she being then about thirty-four years of age, and very handsome); so that her greater than usual expense in her way of living, and her second marriage a few years after, were the more excusable.

Not long before my coming up to London I had broken my left thigh in two places, which was perfectly recovered at that time. I was so great a lover of music that from eight years of age I played all the tunes I could sing upon the violin without being taught, and soon learnt any tune that I heard. At London my brother Edmond and myself were put to school in Whitefriars, where I soon found the disadvantage of learning at home, many boys much younger than myself being much better scholars. We continued there six months, and then went to a school in Enfield Chace, where we were instructed in Latin, French, writing, and dancing. I continued there two years, which time I endeavoured to employ as well as 'twas possible to repair that which I had lost before, whereby I came to a very passable proficiency in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, &c. The only defect of the school was scarcity of diet, which was none to me, my master's sister (that took a particular kindness to me) repairing that want by suffering me to eat when I pleased. It had been wondered at by some (I being above seven-

teen years of age at my coming from school, and fit for the University some months before) that I was persuaded to abide there so long; but my mother's averseness to remove me sooner (re-married at that time to James Moyser, Esq., a very handsome gentleman, but of an indifferent fortune), made me willingly comply with her pleasure; and for this reason of my own besides, to be as perfect as the school could make me.

September 2nd, 1651, I first went from school to Thrybergh, where I continued with my mother four months, and soon after was admitted of Trinity College in Cambridge, under Dr. Duport, my tutor; but the college not being willing to allow me the rank and privilege of a nobleman, by reason of an Act of Parliament then lately made, or rather an ordinance, whereby all persons upon whom the King had conferred any honour after his leaving the Parliament, and his going to Oxford, were to be degraded, my mother rather advised me to go to London, there to be admitted of Gray's Inn, which I did accordingly. Though I was of Gray's Inn, I was lodged in the Temple, to be near my uncle Yarburgh, second brother to my mother, and then student of that society. It was then that my mother allowed me a servant, and gave me forty pounds, which I managed so well that it served all my expenses for five months. Here I had the small-pox, but very favourably. My second brother was bound apprentice to a woollen-draper about this time. Being let loose thus into the world, I made acquaintance with several persons, more particularly with one Mr. Anstrother, a relation, a gentleman lately possessed of a good estate by the death of his mother, and then married, but very extravagant. A great many younger brothers, that had no fortunes, and reformed officers of the King's army, depended upon him for their meat and drink, he usually paying the reckoning for the whole company whilst he had any money; for which he had no

other consideration than flattery, and a formal respect, so long as he was able to purchase it at the rate of his estate. My circumstances would not allow me to be with him and such company often, nor indeed my genius; swearing, gaming, and all manner of debauchery being too much their pastime, though I cannot pretend to have been at that time the most stanch man in the world. However, I never missed to employ a considerable part of the day to some sort of study, and the exercises of music and dancing, which I then chiefly followed.

In the month of August 1653 I returned to Thrybergh, where I was used by my mother (a woman of a great spirit) like a minor (though wardships were not then in use), but my father-in-law treated me with all civility and respect. Besides my mother's jointure, she claimed a lease in Thrybergh as executrix to my father, which was of certain lands so intermixed with others that it was hard to distinguish what were hers or my own; so that my mother gave me for my subsistence what she pleased.

In October she consented to my return to London, and gave me seventy pounds for my expenses. This winter I followed my study and exercises pretty close, finding going into company not so fit for me as others, being naturally very jealous (especially of those I did not well know), and too apt to take notice of any carriage or word that looked like a disrespect, which temper engaged me in some quarrels very early. One of the first was with one Mr. Spencer, who, seeming to take it ill that I drew my sword to show it a gentleman (one Sir Thomas Spencer) who desired to see it, we first fell to words, and from that to fighting in the rooms; till three falling upon me (being all the company but myself), my sword was broken, and taken from me that night. The next day I sent him a challenge by Sir William Pulteney; he accepted it at the first, but, upon better thoughts, sent

a gentleman with the offer of any other satisfaction rather than fighting, which I was prevailed with by Mr. Anstrother to accept, on condition that he made public submission before the same company, and such others as I should appoint to be there, where the whole company was to be entertained at his charge, which he willingly accepted and performed accordingly.

Though I loved reading, and kept what I had learnt, yet I found but little progress in my studies, for want of some able person to direct me in that particular; besides, I found there was little means of improvement for a gentleman as to other respects in England, the nobility and gentlemen of the best rank and estates living retired in the country, to avoid the jealousies of the then suspicious Government, of every act and word that could be construed in favour of the royal family, whereby to draw them into the dangers and forfeitures of delinquency; and such as lived in town were either such zealots in the rebellious, schismatical superstitions of those times, or so very debauched on the other hand, that it was very hard for a young man to avoid infection on one side or the other. These considerations wrought not only upon me to ask, but upon my mother to allow me leave to go to travel.

I set forward for France in April 1654, being then twenty years of age, Cromwell having the year before declared his ambition in the dismission of the late Parliament, the calling of another, in the subduing of Ireland, and making the army entirely at his devotion; by which he did as he pleased in the three kingdoms.[1] My friends recommended to me for governor or conductor in this

[1] Elsewhere Sir John writes, referring to this period, 'Oliver Cromwell was then in his greatest height and splendour. I scarce saw him very near but once about that time (for being fearful of himself he was not easy of access), when he gave public audience to the Spanish ambassador, whom he received with as much distance and ceremony as if he had been the greatest of kings.'

voyage one Mr. Leech, a divine, a late fellow of a college in Cambridge (a very good man and a great scholar), to whose care and instruction I confess I owe the few improvements I attained to in point of learning and morals.

I have writ a small treatise of my travels formerly, and therefore shall only briefly touch upon such things as most nearly related to me abroad, or were therein wholly omitted. We passed by way of Rye and Dieppe, and thence to Paris by Rouen. At Paris I saw the King, the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, playing at billiards in the Palais Royal; but was incognito, it being crime sufficient the waiting upon his Majesty to have caused the sequestration of my estate, had it been known to Cromwell. I stayed no longer in Paris than to get my clothes, and to receive my bills of exchange, and so went to live in pension, or boarding-house at Blois. The Duke of Orleans, the only brother of the late King Louis XIII., lived at Blois at the same time, where his whole diversion was his garden, furnished with the greatest variety of plants and flowers of any place of Europe. One Morrison, a Scotchman, was his herbalist. I employed my time here in learning the language, the guitar and dancing, till July; and then, there having been some likelihood of a quarrel between me and a Dutch gentleman in the same house, my governor prevailed with me to go live at Saumur, with one Mr. Leech (afterwards Sir Robert Leech), a relation of my governor, that had followed us from England, to travel in our company. At Saumur, in addition to the exercises I learned at Blois, I learned to fence and to play of the lute. Besides that, I studied philosophy and the mathematics with my governor, who read lectures of each to me every other day. After eight months' stay, I had got so much of the language to be able to converse with some ladies in the town, especially the daughters of Monsieur du Plessis. One of them, called Mademoi-

selle de Boragan, sent for me one night to wait on her to the ball, where a gentleman, being her servant, grew so jealous of her coming with me, and of the civilities I performed towards her, that he challenged me that night to fight him the next day. I came accordingly to the place, and at the time appointed, but he was hindered by some of his own friends, who suspected the thing, and afterwards we were made friends, but the lady would see him no more.

In the month of April I began to make the little tour, or circuit of France, and returned to Saumur, after some six weeks' absence.

In July I went (desirous to avoid much English company then resident at Saumur) to Le Mans, the capital town of Mayenne, with the two Mr. Leech's and one Mr. Butler. We lodged, and were in pension at the parson's, or minister's house; there were there no strangers. There were several French persons of quality, that lived there at that time, as the Marquis de Cogne's widow, the Marquis de Verdun, and several others, who made us partakers of the pastimes and diversions of the place. All that winter few weeks did pass that there were not balls three times at the least, and we had the freer access by reason that the women were more numerous than the men.

I stayed there till April 1656, and then returned to Saumur with my governor alone; my two companions went to Paris. Several persons of quality of the country coming to Saumur fair, I fell there acquainted with Madame du Terra, wife of a gentleman of 4,000 livres a year, a young lady well accomplished as to singing and playing of the guitar, but especially dancing. I had then an English boy, that played perfectly well of the bagpipe, whom I carried with me through all my travels (a sort of music more to be liked for the extraordinariness of it abroad than the exactness), whom she took great pleasure to hear. After that acquaintance so begun, she came often to Saumur,

and I was often invited to their house in the country, where the husband received me with all kindness. One day, going to wait upon her to the walks in the meadows beyond Saumur Bridge (the rendezvous of persons of quality in summer evenings), no person in company with her but Mademoiselle de la Jeauniere, her sister, a gentleman of the town (a Frenchman), being in drink, let fall some words which reflected upon her, speaking them so audibly that I saw she heard them as well as myself; but neither of us took notice of them to each other. The next morning I sent him a challenge by one Mr. Harwood, an English gentleman, which he refused to answer. The day following I took my friend and a servant with me, and meeting him as he came from mass, gave him several blows with a cudgel, which he went his way with, without drawing his sword.

The night after, three or four of us being together in the street when it began to be dark (going to give a serenade to some of our acquaintance), the said gentleman, with ten or twelve more, set upon us with their swords drawn, which obliged us to defend ourselves as well as we could, but retreating all the while, till we got into a house without much harm, and then they fled.

The day following I had notice that my adversary had taken the law to his second, that he had taken out process, or an arrest, against me, and that if he seized me he would lay me in prison and make me pay considerable damage for the battery before I could be released. This happened very unhappily to one that expected monies from England, and had none to remove with, or any convenience, which obliged me to repair to Monsieur de Cominge, then governor of the castle, who infinitely disapproved of the Frenchman's carriage, and gave me sanctuary there for some days.

My money not being yet come, and not thinking it safe to stay longer there, I went to Thouars, the seat

and residence of the Duke de la Tremoulle (then governor of Bretagne), seven leagues from Saumur, where I lived in a private house some six weeks, often waiting on the duke. He was so civil to me that he told me no arrest should be there executed upon me; invited me to dinner, took me often abroad with him on horseback to take the air; but the duchess being a rigid Protestant, and suspecting that there was a greater kindness between Madame du Terra and me than there really was (for she was a near neighbour to that place), seemed more reserved towards me.

My letters of exchange came to hand the latter end of July, and then I resolved to see Italy, and at the same time to turn off my governor, Mr. Leech (my allowance not being sufficient to defray the charges of so many in that voyage), though I parted with him unwillingly, and shall ever own the blessing of being so long under the conduct of so learned and so pious a man.

I went first to Saumur, and so across the country without guide or company, only my footman; then to Tours, then to Bourg, Bourbon (the famous spa or bath), Moulins (famous for the manufacture of scissors and other edge-tools), and so to Lyons, hiring hackney horses from town to town.

I stayed at Lyons three months, where I met Sir Charles Shelley, my cousin, Sir William Wiseman, and Sir Edward Maunsell of Wales, and several other English, who intended for Italy as well as myself. I made a particular acquaintance with a nun of the Carmelite Convent, a woman of wit and beauty, which helped to pass away the time whilst I stayed there. I learnt of the famous Du Rut of the lute all that time. The Duke de Guise was sent in September to receive the Queen of Sweden from the French King, who had quitted her religion and kingdom not long before, and now came from Italy to see France.

The news came as we were ready to set forward for Italy that the plague (which it was hoped would abate towards winter) did very much spread, and was now very violent in Rome, which discouraged all the gentlemen from making that journey but only one, Mr. Berry, of Canterbury, two Italians, and myself; for I resolved to trust to Providence rather than not see so fine a place, having but that opportunity for it, and understanding that language already pretty well.

I had had a quarrel with this Mr. Berry formerly at Saumur; we fell out at play, and I gave him a box on the ear, for which he challenged me, and as we were going to fight, the governor hearing of it, sent and prevented us, and made us friends.

We set forward the 18th of October, and agreed with a messenger to conduct us with horses and all other necessaries for our journey from Lyons to Padua, which was the worst way, but we were forced to go it, there being no other passage open by reason of the plague; from Lyons we first went to Geneva (so famous for the residence and preaching of Calvin, one of the first authors of the Reformation), from thence to Zurich, and several other considerable towns in Switzerland, so through the three cantons of the country of the Grysons, so to Valtalina, where we entered the state of Venice, and passed through Bressa, Bergamo, Verona, all fine cities, the last though the most famous for its amphitheatre, one of the most entire and magnificent Roman structures of that kind in all Italy. The Alps are the worst to pass this way of any other, and the danger the greatest for the banditti; but by good fortune many of them had been killed the day before we passed near Bergamo, in a combat between them and several of the country that had risen on purpose to disperse them, so that we passed safe without injury either to our persons

or purses, which few had done that way for some time before.

We arrived at Padua November the 13th, but with great difficulty on another account, for all places being very fearful of infection in a time of the plague, we were stopped at every town and village till we produced our letters of health (or passes from one place to another), which we were forced to take from the officers of every town, to show what way we had passed. And none was suffered to enter without these, but he must make quarantine, or abide in the pest-house forty days, to show that he was free from the plague. At Padua we learnt that the infection rather increased than otherwise at Rome, Naples, Genoa, &c., so that the passes and commerce continuing shut up, it would be impossible to look that way for this winter. There were some English gentlemen in that University, some students of the civil law, others of physic; of these were Mr. John Finch, brother to the since Earl of Nottingham and Lord Chancellor, and himself since ambassador at Constantinople to our King. He was Syndic there in that year, an office like that of Vice-chancellor in our Universities. Mr. Berry put ourselves into the way of living for strangers in that place, which was taking lodgings in a house with some other English, where everyone contributed so much weekly, and performed the part of steward and bought provisions in their turns, which is easily performed there by strangers, no man demanding more than the settled price of the magistrates for his commodity.

I passed this winter there and at Venice (where I went often) very pleasantly. The exercise I followed was chiefly music; my studies were the language and the mathematics, for which science there was an admirable master, especially for fortification. I followed also fencing and dancing, but in quite a different method from that of France.

One day, going to the Piazza of St. Mark (where all people met after dinner in masquerade, and that person thinks himself happiest that finds himself most followed for being the most extravagant in dress, &c.), I put my boy that played of the bagpipes into two petticoats, one over his shoulders, the other about his waist; that playing as he went nothing could be perceived of that instrument save the sound, which did so much surprise (that country not affording any of that music) that I had the whole crowd after me that day, and the boy had like to have been pulled in pieces to find out the thing; though generally they do offer no violence to persons in disguise.

The passage being now open to Florence by the way of Bologna and Ferrara, I persuaded Mr. Berry at last to go thither with me. We found it very difficult to travel by reason of the plague, every town where we came refusing us entrance, lest we should have come from some infected place, till we produced our bills of health, which we had at all places as we passed; for if anybody wanted them they were either put into the pest-house for forty days or sent back from whence they came; and sometimes they were shot by the sentries, as a Dutchman had been not long before at Bologna, entering at the gate without producing his bill of health, thinking that he had left it, but after he was killed it was found slipped through a hole in his pocket. In a few days we got to Florence, of whose advantages as to its palaces, greatness and situation, I have made large mention in the book of my travels.

Ferdinand II. was then the great Duke, a man of great sense, but not personable, who had then parted beds with his Duchess, a beautiful woman, being jealous one of another. He was very civil to strangers, especially the English; he had a great correspondence with the Protector, fearing his power at sea. I had often access to him; amongst other times, as he was playing at pell mell, he read a letter to me of news which he had not long before

received from England; and another time, going to see his country house called Poggio Achaiano, he sent me and my company two dishes of fish and twelve bottles of rare wine.

One day as I was practising on the lute, Mr. Berry came to me, and saying something that displeased me, I gave him a sharp answer, which put him into that heat that he told me he had not forgot the old affront which I once did him to give him a box on the ear; and that he expected I should give him immediate satisfaction with my sword in my hand. Finding that it was not to be avoided, I went with him out of one of the gates, where as we were going to draw our swords one Mr. Kent, that lay in the same house and had overheard our dispute, apprehending the consequences, came with two more gentlemen and parted us, and that evening made us good friends.

We stayed a fortnight together after this, and then went our several ways, he to renew his pursuits at Venice, and I to see such other parts of Italy as there was any access to by reason of the plague, as Pisa, Pistoja, Leghorn, where I received great civilities from English merchants. After some short stay there I returned to Florence, where, despairing to see more of Italy, the sickness increasing at Rome, Genoa, Naples, &c., with the heats, I went by sea to Venice, where I arrived in July, and passed from thence to Italy (where I had constantly followed the exercises of dancing, music, fencing, and the study of mathematics) the 6th day of August for Germany, to see the election of the new Emperor, the old one being dead not two months before, in company of two French gentlemen, a high German of the town of Elbing, and my own boy.

From Venice we went to Mestre, so to Trent (famous for the General Council held there), so to Inspruck, the capital city of Tyrol, where the Archduchess then dwelt, and her fair daughter, since married to the Emperor. I

had the curiosity, and the company from thence, to go out of our way to see Munich in Bavaria, where that Elector keeps his court in the finest palace of that part of the world. Augsburg was the next city of note that we passed through (an imperial or hans-town), famous for its fortifications, buildings, and the preaching of Luther there. In four days we got from thence to Frankfort, the place destined for the election of the Emperor. Several times we were much straitened for lodging and diet these last days' journey, the country lying much ruined and uninhabited since the last wars in those parts.

I passed the time that I stayed here divertingly enough, the ambassadors of France and Spain, those of several electors and other princes of the empire having made very splendid entries, each of them contending to outdo one another in gallantry and entertainment; but Monsr. le Duc de Grammont and Monsr. de Lyone, both joined in commission from the French King, much exceeded the rest. The want of the language, and the too great plenty of liquor (which is too much imposed upon strangers in that country), were the most troublesome. I stayed there till October the 10th, when finding that a great many difficulties relating to the interests of different princes must be first reconciled before the election could be, I began my journey for Holland, down the river Rhine, where passing by Mentz, Cologne, Wesel, Schenkenhans, Nimeguen, and many more considerable places, I arrived safe with some Dutch gentlemen of my company at Rotterdam, October 20. Here I left the great boat and my company, and went with my boy in a passage-boat to Delft, and so for the Hague. That night I went to a French play, putting on a good suit of clothes which I had got made by the French ambassador's tailor at Frankfort, where were the Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia, &c. I kissed the Princess of Orange her hand that night by another name, whom I had the honour to entertain in

French (which I spoke very readily) for some time, but did not own myself to be an Englishman, for fear I might have paid dear at home for that compliment, should it have been known to the Protector. The fear of being discovered made me leave that agreeable place the next day, to go for Amsterdam by the way of Harlem by boat.

Having spent about ten days to see the most considerable parts of Holland, I went to visit Flanders by the way of Antwerp, by boat. There rose so great a storm after we had passed Dort, that the mast was broken, and we were driven so far out to sea that we got not to harbour for five days; besides we had laid but in provisions for four days; so that we had near been starved, had we not met with a boat of muscles, which, without either bread or drink, I thought the best meat I ever eat. The old Duke of Newcastle (though then but Marquis) lived at Antwerp at that time of his banishment, but I durst not visit him for fear of being discovered.

I stayed there two days, then went for Brussels in the boat of common passage. I met therein with Mr. Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, since Cardinal Howard, who taking me for a Frenchman, would needs tell me all the story of our English civil wars, his own and family's sufferings thereby, which I knew as well as himself.

I put myself in pension at Brussels, where I passed for a Frenchman, only I ran the hazard of being found out often by my footman, who could never learn any language well but his own. Don John of Austria, then Governor of the Netherlands, lived there, and the Prince of Condé, who lived in some splendour. But the King of England could not live up to their height, being banished also then out of France, at the instance of Cromwell; and the pension formerly allowed him from that crown

was withdrawn, so that his Majesty then subsisted there at the charge chiefly of the King of Spain.

November the 24th I embarked for Flushing, where I was forced to abide till the 1st of January, and then found an opportunity of passage for St. Valery, in France, with three Frenchmen and my boy; but by very bad weather I was driven to a little village in Normandy. We hired a cart there that carried us ten miles to Dieppe, and from thence we got to Paris in three days, upon the 6th of January.

I put myself there into a pension (where there were none but Frenchmen, most of them officers of the army) in the Isle of the Palace. I passed the winter very well, and got a great many French acquaintance, and went sometimes to the French Court, and as often to the Queen Mother of England as I durst. I followed here the exercises of music, fencing, dancing and mathematics, as before.

One day walking over Pontneuf, and having on a belt with large silver buckles, a man well dressed, as he came after me, rubbed a little upon me as he passed by, and so pursued his way, but I thought a little faster than ordinary. Another following after (but not of his company) told me my belt was cut behind, and the buckle was gone with the part which was cut. This gave me presently suspicion that it was the man gone just before, though his appearance and dress (for he had a sword and a good cloak) spoke him no man to do such an action; however I thought the best way to succeed was to be bold, so overtaking him I drew my sword and bid him restore my buckle which he had cut off, which without any denial he produced and restored, begging that I would not expose him to public shame, but let him go. After some few stripes with the flat of my sword I let the rascal run his way, and the rabble shouting after him. I took two French footmen to wait on me, and turned my English boy

into a page, and lived as handsomely as I could till I went for England, a man's respect there being only suitable to his equipage and way of living.

May 10, 1658, I returned from England by the way of Dieppe, being not very well. My mother was then at London, and was very pressing with me to marry, offering me some fortunes, more particularly Mrs. Hotham, worth as it is believed £3,000, and who had more kindness for me than I desired, having not the same for her; insomuch that some years after she being suspected to have a bastard, I was thought to be the father, though very undeservedly. She afterwards married the heir of the family of Cooper, of Nottinghamshire.

The citizens and common people of London had then so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth, that they could scarce endure the sight of a gentleman, so that the common salutation to a man well dressed was 'French dog,' or the like. Walking one day in the street with my valet de chambre, who did wear a feather in his hat, some workmen that were mending the street abused him and threw sand upon his clothes; at which he drew his sword, thinking to follow the custom of France in the like cases. This made the rabble fall upon him and me, who had drawn too in his defence, till we got shelter in a house, not without injury to our bravery and some blows to ourselves.

There was little satisfaction in that town in those days. There was no court made to Oliver but by his own party, and then only in case of business or by the officers of the army. There were no comedies or other diversions (which were forbidden not only as ungodly, but for fear of drawing company or number together), and there was no business for any man that loved monarchy or the family of Stuart; so that the nobility and gentry lived most in the country. Nor were those of the royal

party more secure there than in the city, there being spies in all places upon their words and actions.

August 6. I went for Yorkshire and wintered with my father-in-law, who had left Thrybergh, and then lived in York. I was very ill all that winter.

CHAPTER III.

Death of Cromwell—His Character—Richard Cromwell—The Duke of Buckingham—Sir George Booth's Plot in the North—Signs of the coming Restoration—Sir John at Paris again—The Queen Mother's Court there—Elizabeth Hamilton—Dr. Cosin—Crossing the Channel under Difficulties—Introduction at Court—The future Lady Reresby—Quarrel at Selby—Visit to Malton—The Court at Whitehall—King Charles and Public Affairs—Lord Clarendon—Skirmish with Rebels at Caen Wood—The Coronation—Assembling of Parliament—Court Anecdotes—Buckingham as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding—Reresby a Deputy Lieutenant and Cornet of Volunteers—At Portsmouth with the King to meet the Infanta—Scarborough Spa—County and Family Affairs.

On September the 3rd, 1658, died the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest men, had his cause been good, the world ever produced. For his actions, I leave them to be enquired after in history; for his person, having never seen him very near but once, at the audience of an ambassador in Whitehall, I can only give this description of him, that his figure did no ways promise what he performed. He was personable, but not handsome, nor did he look great nor bold. He was plain in his apparel, and rather affected a negligence than a genteel garb. He had tears at his will, and was certainly the deepest dissembler on earth.

His son Richard, who was a gentleman that lived altogether in the country, and was not acquainted with such politics, was proclaimed Protector in his room; he was confirmed by a Parliament which he called, where the Scotch representatives sate as well as the English; but this Parliament not pleasing his highness, was soon dissolved, and himself did not long survive them. The

officers of the army, the chief of which were Lambert, Okey, and Desborough, &c., causing the remainder of the old Parliament of 1640 to be called again, which for the small number was called the Rump. His highness was content to lay down his dignity, and all affairs were next governed by a Council of State, consisting of the officers of the army, and some select Members of Parliament, or the Rump.

The Duke of Buckingham, who had been with the King the greatest part of his banishment, had disobliged and left his Majesty in Flanders some time before, and was now endeavouring to marry the daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, formerly general of the Parliament's army, to whom was given the greatest part of the said duke's estate, in consideration of his service to the State. He was the finest gentleman of person and wit I think I ever saw; but could not be long serious, or mind business; he behaved himself with some insolence towards his Majesty, which was the cause of their quarrel. I was first acquainted with him at this time, and he expressed a kindness towards me from the first time I saw him.

August, 1659. This year there was a general plot or conspiracy to rise in arms in the northern parts of England amongst the loyal party, and to declare for a free Parliament, hoping such a Parliament might restore the King. Sir George Booth was the chief in this business; but the design was discovered before it took the right effect, and several of the principal persons were seized and put into the Tower. (I was very ill at that time.) My father's third sister, Elizabeth, first married to Sir Francis Foljambe, of Aldwarke, by whom she had no issue, then to Mr. Horner, younger son of Sir John Horner, of Somersetshire, to whom she bore one only daughter that survived (married to Sir Roger Martin, of Suffolk), then to my Lord Monson, one of this Rump Parliament, was a

very notable woman, only she was a little too masculine. By means of this marriage our family enjoyed a passable indulgence, the wife having power to do what she pleased with her husband, and his lordship having power to prevail with his brother members and the Governors of that time for his friends, as they desired; but so soon as that power did abate, this lady, my aunt (having borne one daughter to my Lord Monson, since married to Sir Philip Hungate, of Yorkshire) having sufficiently enriched herself by several jewels and a great part of his personal estate, did separate herself from him; and he running himself into a great debt, turned himself over into the King's Bench, where he was found at the King's restoration, and was tried and condemned as a traitor by Act of Parliament, for being one of the King's judges in the High Court of Justice; but his sentence did not extend to execution, only to be carried upon a hurdle with a rope about his neck to the place of execution, and to imprisonment for life and forfeiture of estate; he lived till the year 1673. After his death the King was pleased, at my intercession, and in consideration that my family had been ever loyal, to restore my aunt to her honour of Viscountess Monson of Ireland, her husband having forfeited his title and degree of Viscount Monson of Castlemaine by his attainder. This lady, at sixty years of age, married Adam Felton, Esq., for her fourth husband, son of Sir Henry Felton, Bart., of Suffolk, of some twenty-four years of age, an action no way suitable to the former conduct of her life.

This year I entered to the only estate I had, which was Thrybergh, then let for 355*l.* a year, or thereabouts, (the rest being then in jointure to my mother and grandmother).

I was at London some part of this summer, where by the disputes between our new Governors, the ambition of some, and jealousies of others, the dislike of the Parlia-

ment's proceeding on one hand, and the haughty and insolent demeanour of the officers of the army on the other, it was easy to discern that a door was opening for the King's return into England; and yet to show the effect of fear (for all the Rump and the army were even detested by the generality of the nation as well as all Christendom), yet were they congratulated in their new power from all foreign princes; and I was present at a dinner given to Lambert and other officers of the army at the charge of the city of London, which was more costly and splendid than any of those many which I have since seen given by that city to his Majesty; so much more is awe prevalent than love.

Not continuing well as to my health, and the late disappointment to the King's friends by the discovery of Sir George Booth's plot, inclined me to return again into France, where I went, having obtained leave of the Council of State about the end of October, with Sir Thomas Yarburgh, my cousin german, a young gentleman that had a mind to travel.

We arrived at Paris by the way of Calais in November, where I continued very ill a great part of the winter; but after, by God's great mercy to me, I perfectly recovered. So soon as I had put myself into some equipage, I endeavoured to be acquainted at the Queen Mother of England's Court, which she then kept at the Palais Royal, which I did without any great notice taken of it in England, the King and Dukes being then banished into Flanders, and none of her children with her Majesty but the Princess Henrietta Maria. Few Englishmen making there their court, made me the better received; besides, speaking the language of that country and dancing passably well, the young Princess, then aged about fifteen years, used me with all the civil freedom that might be, made me dance with her, played on the harpsichord to me in her highness's chamber, suffered me to attend

upon her as she walked in the garden with the rest of her retinue, and sometimes to toss her in a swing made of a cable which she sat upon, tied between two trees, and in fine suffered me to be present at most of her innocent diversions.

The Queen commanded me to be there as often as I conveniently could. Her Majesty had a great affection for England, notwithstanding the severe usage she and hers had received from it. Her discourse was much with the great men and ladies of France in praises of the people and of the country; of their courage, generosity, good nature; and would excuse all their miscarriages in relation to unfortunate effects of the late war, as if it were a convulsion of some desperate and infatuated persons, rather than from the genius and temper of the kingdom. And as a little remark of her Majesty's kindness to the English, carrying an English gentleman with me one day to the Court, he, thinking to make himself extraordinary fine, had a garniture of rich ribbon to his suit, in which was a mixture of red and yellow; which the Queen observing, called to me, and bade me advise my friend to mend his fancy as to his ribbons, those two colours together being ridiculous in France, and might give occasion to the French to laugh at him.

Several English and Irish families, either from choice or banishment, lived there at this time. Amongst others the daughter of my Lady Hamilton, wife of Sir George Hamilton and sister to the Duke of Ormond, whom I liked so well that after she came with her mother to England, as she did soon after, I had probably married her, had not my friends strongly opposed it, she being a papist, and her fortune not being great at present. She married afterwards the Count de Grammont, brother to the duke of that name in France.[1]

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Hamilton, fourth son of James, first Earl of Abercorn, married Philibert, Comte de Grammont, whose

I had the advantage of Doctor Cosin's company often, then chaplain to the Queen, and since the King's restoration Bishop of Durham, who preached to some English every Sunday, which we requited with some contribution for him. He took great pains to confirm me in the Protestant religion, which was not very necessary, having never as yet heard or seen anything amongst those of the popish persuasion to invite me to change my religion.

1660.

February 15. Being not well in health, I retired to a private lodging (my money too being short), pretending to be gone into the country. There were very few besides my servant that knew of my retirement, but one Mr. Urquhart, a Scotchman that had been long a captain in the regiment of the Crown. My bill of exchange came for £60 at this time, and I entrusted him to receive it, which he did; but the next day falling to play in a gentleman's house as he was bringing it to me, lost it every farthing. However, within few days he found credit enough to borrow 40 pistoles, which he very welcomely brought to me, and he paid me the rest before I left Paris.

Memoirs of the Court of Charles II. are so well known. We may judge of the treasure lost by Sir John by the following translation from the *Journal de Dangeau*, which appears as a manuscript note (by Isaac Reed) in a copy of Grammont's Memoirs in the British Museum:—

'The count's face was that of an old ape. His wife taught him during his illness the first principles of religion, and as she was reading the Paternoster, "Countess," said her husband, "what's that prayer, it is very fine; who made it?" They had only two daughters, who, though ugly, were greater intriguers and better known in the fashionable world than many belles. His wife had most lively wit and most extensive information, the greatest dignity, the utmost ease in her parties, the most refined elegance at court. Her native haughtiness was tempered by a refined and elevated piety, which had converted her into a true penitent. . . . Her good sense was so great that she imparted it to others, and made the duties of a wife compatible with the follies and irregularities of her husband.' One of her daughters married Henry, Earl of Stafford; the other became superior or abbess of the Canonesses of Lorraine.

The Court of France was very splendid this winter (1660); a great mask was danced at the Louvre, where the King and the Princess Henrietta of England danced to admiration. But there was a greater resort to the Palais Royal than to the French Court; the good humour and wit of our Queen Mother, and the beauty of the Princess her daughter, giving greater invitation than the more particular humour of the French Queen, being a Spaniard.

The only affront by a stroke that I ever received in my life was at this time, after I came abroad, that striving to get into the playhouse through a great crowd, a page, tall and well-clad, thrusting upon me, and I rebuking him for it, gave me a box on the ear; and as soon as he had done got out of the playhouse. I followed him, and did what I could to learn who he was or his master; but all to no purpose, for he got out of my reach.

About this time came the welcome news that General Monk was coming to London, and would declare for a free Parliament, which happily came to pass the April after, 1660. This Parliament voted the return of the King from his long, severe banishment, who accordingly arrived in England with his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, from Flanders, with a general consent; a thing never read of in story, that when monarchy was laid aside at the expense of so much blood, it should return again without the shedding of one drop. He came to Dover the 25th of April.

The Queen Mother received the news of his Majesty's happy restoration and arrival with all the marks of joy imaginable; and, amongst others, gave a splendid ball at her Court, where all the persons of the greatest quality of France were invited, and all the English gentlemen then at Paris had admittance. Having not been very well (as I said before), I would have excused myself from dancing, but the Queen commanded me to take out the Cardinal's

niece, since the wife of the Duke of Mazarin, which I obeyed.

I stayed in Paris till August, where I received more honours from the Queen and the Princess her daughter than I deserved, and which I endeavoured to acknowledge by all the constant duty and attendance I was able to perform. The 2nd of that month I set forward for England; but before I went, desired to know of her Majesty what service she would please to command me to the King, who told me she would write by me, and ordered me to attend her the next morning for her letter. Having received it and taken my leave, I desired to know if it required haste. Her Majesty said no, for that it purported little besides a particular recommendation of me to her son the King.

After this I went to take leave of Mistress Hamilton, and the next morning, being that which I came away, I had the satisfaction to see her, and I thought her the finest woman in the world. My Lady Hamilton wrote to her brother, my Lord of Ormond, by me, to introduce me to the King. I set forward for England as aforesaid in the company of Lord Clifford, son to the Earl of Burlington, and of his brother, since killed at sea, by the way of Dieppe, where a man-of-war that was sent on purpose stayed for them; but falling sick at Rouen, was left behind for the present, and following to Dieppe, found them gone (the wind serving) two days before, and with them several other passengers that had waited some time for so good an opportunity. Being thus left alone, out of hopes of any company to contribute to the charge of a better boat, and my money being very low, I accepted of a seaman's offer to carry me to Rye in his single shallop, manned with only himself and his boy. The passengers being only me and mine (a Moor that then waited on me), all the cabin to the boat being a hole at the poop-head which would not receive half of my body. In this

manner I committed myself to God and the sea, and being happily becalmed all the time, arrived at Rye by rowing all the way some twenty-four hours after the man-of-war, and overtook my Lord Clifford riding post before he reached London.

Aug. 27.—At London I met my mother and most of my relations, come up as they were from all parts of England to see the King. I was presented by the Duke of Ormond (then but Marquis) to the King in the privy gallery at Whitehall, and gave him the Queen's letter, who asked me several questions concerning her and my voyage.

Some few weeks after I came acquainted with Mistress Brown, daughter of William Brown, Esquire, barrister-at-law, of the family of Sir Wolston Brown, sent by King Henry VIII. with the Lord Darcy with forces to assist the King of Arragon against the Moors, where he was knighted by that King. Having more inclination for this gentlewoman than any I had seen before, I forgot Mistress Hamilton, and had no disposition to make application to others, though I was pressed to do it by my mother and relations, because their fortunes were more considerable than hers.

Sept. 10.—I came into Yorkshire, and after some short stay at my own house at Thrybergh, went for York by way of Selby, where a quarrel happening between my company and some others about first going into the boat, I was struck over the head with a cudgel, which provoked me to wound one or two with my sword. This gave so great an alarm to the country people there met together upon the occasion of the market, that I was encompassed and two gentlemen with me and our servants; and after a long defence pulled off my horse, and had certainly been knocked on the head, had I not been rescued by my Moor, who got hold of the man's arm that had me down, as he was going to give the blow. Being

got up again, I defended myself till I got into the house of an honest man, that gave me protection till the rabble was appeased.

From York I went to Malton, a famous fair for horses, where with other gentlemen I was invited to dinner at Sir Thomas Norcliffe's, who had several handsome daughters, especially one who was to be speedily married to a young gentleman with whom I had a quarrel about his mistress which had near spoiled the match. We should have fought the next day, but considering better of it, he submitted (though it was he that had received the affront, for I threw a glass of wine in his face), and so we were reconciled.

I returned to Thrybergh, and soon after to London in the stage coach.

My grandmother Reresby gave me money to buy coach and horses. I stayed there all the winter, and was much at the King's Court, and often at the Queen Mother's, who was arrived from Paris in November, and lived at Somerset House in the Strand.

At this time the Court at Whitehall (the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester having theirs distinct from the King's) was very splendid. The kingdom at this time was very rich, and all people well satisfied with the King's return; or such as were not durst not oppose the current by seeming otherwise. Not but it was likely that a considerable number could have wished it otherwise, such as had lost commands in the army which was now disbanded, or estates which they had quietly enjoyed in the late time out of the Crown lands, the bishops', the dean's and chapter's, or the delinquents'; dissenters in religion, and those of Commonwealth principles. The King at this time did not so much trouble himself with business. All things went on calmly and easily. He had a Parliament faithfully inclined to the Crown and the Church, ready to do what he could reasonably

desire for the service of either, as may be easily seen by the acts made by them for settling the legislative power, the militia of the kingdom, and the revenue for his Majesty's reign. The business was much left to the management of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor; and the King, as he was of an age and vigour for it, followed his pleasures; and if amongst those love prevailed with him more than others, he was thus far excusable, besides that his complexion led to it, the women seemed to be the aggressors, and I have since heard the King say did sometimes offer themselves to his embraces. The two dukes, his brothers, were no less lovers of the sex than himself.

This winter (or soon after) the King's aunt came from the Hague to live here, the Queen of Bohemia, who had tasted a great deal of misery in her time; and the Princess of Orange, his sister, was then come into England; who both died soon after; as also the Duke of Gloucester.

The Queen Mother did often ask me if the King had done anything for me, and what I desired, that she might speak on my behalf. The truth is, I did not pursue my own advantage at that time as I might have done. I went to Court more to converse and look about me, than to be so assiduous or diligent near those princes as I ought to have been. I relied much on the Queen's kindness to me, and power with the King; but was disappointed by the Queen's leaving England soon after the death of her children, and her returning for Paris with her daughter. Henrietta, unexpectedly.

1661.

In this month of January some discontented schismatics raised a small rebellion in London, and were headed by one Venner, their captain, but were dispersed before they came to any considerable head by a party of the Guards. The same night they went out of the town

and rallied again in Caen Wood, near Highgate, where a party of horse of the Guards, commanded by Sir Thomas Sands, pursued them. Being desirous to see a little action, I took one of my coach-horses and set my man upon the other, and joined Sir Thomas Sands (for I had no saddle-horses then in town). After seeking in the wood till midnight by moonshine, we came to a little house, where the people told us they had been desiring victuals some time before, and that they could not be far off. About one hour afterwards we found some of them in the thick part of the wood, who discharged upon us with their muskets, but by reason of the moon setting got from us and marched to London again before break of day, where they were defeated by some of the train-bands and the Horse-guards, their captain taken prisoner with about twenty more, and were all hanged, drawn and quartered. They died resolutely, and unrepenting of their crime. Some twenty of the rebels had been killed before in the several skirmishes, and as many of the King's men, one of whom was shot with a musket ball not far from me in Caen Wood.

This winter came Mistress Hamilton with her father and mother for England, and several endeavours were used to renew the friendship between us, but after the sight of Mistress Brown I could not return to that application. This lost me some interest at Court with the family of the Duke of Ormond, her eldest brother James being of the bedchamber to the King, and her second brother, George, had a great command in the French King's army; in which service he was killed, and his other brother had the same fate at sea in the second Dutch war.

Charles the Second, our gracious Sovereign, was crowned at Westminster the 23rd April, with all the splendour and magnificence that such a ceremony could be performed with. He dined with all the nobility that day in Westminster Hall, at several tables; the King

proceeding the day before from the Tower to Westminster in order to this ceremony; the triumphal arches, pageants, made to receive and entertain him and the whole Court, and other attendants as he passed, were finer and richer than was ever known upon the like occasions in England; of all which I was an eye-witness, but as to particulars it is more the business of an historian than mine to relate them.

May 8. The Parliament, newly called, assembled at Westminster, where the House of Lords was restored to its just rights, and the Commons were generally chosen of loyal families, but young men for the most part; which being told the King, he replied that was no great fault, for he could keep them till they got beards.

One evening, making my court at the Queen of Bohemia's, Mistress Hamilton came in, and whilst I was entertaining of her, my Lord Carnarvon (who was a weak man), seeing a handsome woman, came up to us and began to talk to her. Another gentleman and myself, knowing the Queen loved mirth, resolved to divert her. I came to my lord and asked him if he had any relation to that lady, at the same time I sent the other gentleman to whisper him in the ear that I was a colonel lately arrived from France, and that lady was my mistress, and that he feared I resented his discoursing with her. This made him presently come ask my pardon before the Queen, protesting he knew nothing of her being my mistress, which, I seeming something averse to be satisfied with, he made such submissions as diverted the circle for some time. This Queen died some months after.

I met one Mr. Calverley, of the house of Calverley, of Calverley, at Mrs. Brown's lodging; where he giving me very rude words, and denying to give me satisfaction for them, I cudgelled him in Holborn.

This summer was the first time that the Duke of York took particular notice of me; being in discourse with some Frenchmen and the French ambassador, the Duke

joined in discourse with us in the presence at Whitehall, being a great lover of that language and kind to those that spoke it. The next night he talked to me a long while as he supped with the King.

October. The Duke of Buckingham,[1] being Lord Lieutenant for the West Riding of Yorkshire, gave me a commission for deputy lieutenant, and another for cornet to his volunteer troop, consisting of so many gentlemen listed under him that were willing to serve the King at their own charge. Sir Jordan Crossland, Governor of Scarborough Castle, was lieutenant to the troop. I was a good part of the spring with my mother in Yorkshire, and returned in April to London.

1662.

In May following the King went to receive the Infanta of Portugal at Portsmouth, and the greatest court I ever saw attend him in any progress. I followed the Duke of Buckingham thither, who gave me all the accommodation

[1] Buckingham's entry into the county is thus described in *Mercurius Publicus* for Nov. 7, 1661 :—

'York, October 30. Because one of the greatest honours due to his Majesty is the kind reception of the Lords Lieutenants, I thought fit to tell you how my Lord Duke of Buckingham was received into his command. At Doncaster all the nobility and gentry, that a sudden notice could give, came to wait upon his grace, and the town received him with all the joy and best music they could make; the Mayor and Alderman presented themselves with good store of wine and a banquet, and the next day waited upon him to church morning and afternoon with their best solemnities. On Monday Sir George Cooke conducted him towards York with a gallant troop of volunteers. Sir Godfrey Copley would have done the same; but his troop, consisting of above 300 quarter'd at that distance, that his grace thought fit to excuse him the trouble. At Tadcaster he was met by the High Sheriff, Sir Thomas Slingsby, and Sir Metcalfe Robinson, and their troops, with the wayes full of gentry and others. At York the city regiment, under the command of the High Sheriff, made a lane to his lodging, and all the while we could hear nothing but guns from the tower, and God bless his Majesty and our noble Lord Lieutenant; as soon as he was in the inn, each regiment saluted his grace with great volleys of shot, and the bells continued their noise all the night after.'

I could desire, in a house he had taken on purpose, all the time the Court remained there, which was very near one month. The Queen arrived the 14th, and after his Majesty's arrival and the consummation of the marriage performed by the Bishop of London, the rest of their stay was passed in feasting, balls, and all sorts of diversions. All this time it was very discernible that the King was not much enamoured of his bride. She was very little, not handsome (though her face was indifferent), and her education so different from his, being most of her time brought up in a monastery, that she had nothing visible about her capable to make the King forget his inclination to the Countess of Castlemaine (since Duchess of Cleveland), by whom the King had had a child and had afterwards many more, and who was then the finest woman of her age. It was suspected that my Lord Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, the great Minister of State at that time, that made the match, was no stranger to the Queen's defects, and to one more, which was that she had a complaint upon her that made her unlikely (if not incapable) to have issue; and that he did it rather for this, that so in probability the crown might descend to the Duke of York, who was contracted, if not then married, to his daughter.

This summer I came into Yorkshire, and was at Thrybergh, where my mother and her husband, Mr. Moyser, as yet did continue, till July, when I went to Scarborough Spa. There were many persons of quality that went that summer for their health or their diversion; there was amongst others a lord that had a fine woman to his wife (a relation of mine). The lord, after a short stay, was for going away with his lady, who told me she had a mind to stay a little longer. I endeavoured to persuade his lordship to it, but could not prevail; but finding he had a friend with him who had much power to persuade him, I went and told him that except my lord stayed some few

days longer I should look upon him as the reason of his going, and should expect reparation from him for that neglect put upon me by my lord's refusing to do what I desired. He seemed very unconcerned at what I said, and declared he would give me what satisfaction I would desire the next morning (it being then late). I answered I would not trust him except he lay with me all night, which he did; but the next morning he was of another mind, and went and prevailed with my lord and his company to stay some time longer, which put an end to the dispute. My mother was there at the same time, and Mistress Brown. That lord's lady and I went from Scarborough to be gossips to a child of Sir Thomas Hebblethwaites. But I returned again to Mistress Brown, who had been at Aldwarke with her uncle Francland some time before, and left London to avoid the importunity of some friends (her mother amongst others), who had been very pressing with her to marry a gentleman of a considerable fortune, which she pretended to refuse on my account. My grandmother Yarburgh died this year, a very pious woman and an excellent mother, but did leave my mother not what she expected, being never perfectly reconciled to her for marrying her second husband.

Near this time, it being feared that the seeds of the late insurrection had sown themselves in this part of the kingdom, the deputy lieutenants received orders to make a general search for arms and to inquire into people's principles, and how they stood assured to the Government. The city of York and the Ainsty were allotted Sir Thomas Slingsby and me as our province in this matter.

There had been several meetings in different divisions of the deputy lieutenants for the taxing all men's estates towards the militia, according to the new Act of Parliament for that purpose, and after there was a general meeting at York, which completed that business.

Mistress Hotham, falling very sick at that time, sent

me her will by her maid, being then in York, by which she left me the greatest part of what she had; but recovered to dispose of it and her person together.

My poor mother continued extremely afflicted with the gout all this winter at Thrybergh, where I stayed with her for the most part, and was very pressing that she would consent to my marrying Mistress Frances Brown; but she, believing that I might forget her in time and choose somebody of a greater family and fortune, denied me; and I, resolving not to marry without her consent, was content to stay, but found my kindness was so great for her that it was not easy to alter it. It was this year that I let leases of my lands in Thrybergh, and improved my rents near one hundred pounds per annum, besides a year's rent for a fine for the most part. It was then likewise that I planted a close of six acres, called the Infield, on the north side of Thrybergh Hall.

CHAPTER IV.

Adventure in Moorfields—Hunting with the Royal Brothers—Duel with an Irish Gentleman—Farnley Wood Plot—At York and Pontefract with the Militia—Sir Henry Bellasis—Anecdote of Lord William Russell—War with the Dutch—Reresby's Marriage—Family Differences—Inventory of his Effects—His three Brothers—The Great Plague—Duke and Duchess of York visit York—Sir John seeks to be High Sheriff—With Buckingham and his brother Officers at York—Amusements and Intrigues there—The Countess of Shrewsbury—Quarrel between Buckingham and Lord Fauconberg—The Duke shows the white Feather—Disaffection at Leeds—The Great Fire—Reresby High Sheriff—Duties and Profits of the Office—Buckingham's Relations with the King—His Disgraces and Restorations to favour—Lord Burlington as Lord Lieutenant—York Assizes—The East Coast threatened by the Dutch—Public Affairs—Colonel Blood at Ferrybridge—Changes in the Government—Clarendon's Fall—Buckingham Chief Minister—Improvements at Thrybergh—Yorkshire Gardening—Death of Reresby's Mother—The old Duke of Newcastle—Court Visitors—Death of the Duke of Albemarle—Reresby a Justice of the Peace—The Princess of Orleans—The Duke of York and the Nonconformists—The Coventry Act—Anecdote of the Prince of Orange.

1663.

I WENT for London in March. Whilst I was in the country I received a letter from one that had been a soldier in Cromwell's army, who pretended he was able to discover to me a place in Templeborough (part of my estate near Ickles), where some considerable sum of money had been hidden in the late wars; which letter was dated from the sign of the Cross, near Moorfields, in London. In April I took Mr. Tindall, my relation, with me, and went to see if I could find out this place in London and the man. After enquiring for him in several houses, as we came out of one we met a genteel kind of a man in an alley, who told me I came from a house of ill-

fame. Not liking the salutation, I told him he lied, for we knew it not to be such; but he making a froward reply, I gave him a box on the ear. It should seem he had been shooting with a great cross-bow, which he had under his cloak, with which he struck at me before I could get out my sword, but missed me. By this time my cousin Tindall came up to him, whom he also struck at, and hitting on the head, knocked him down. By this time I coming up, and making a pass, he wounded me with the end of the bow in my sword hand, that I had much to do to hold my sword, till, recovering myself a little, I ran in upon him and wounded him in the belly. The rabble now came about us, seized and carried us before a justice of the peace, who bailed us upon City security for 2,000*l.* The man was in danger of death for six weeks, which caused us to abscond till we compounded the matter for 50*l.*, and then we appeared again, the man also recovering soon after.

This summer the Duke took a fancy (and sometimes the King) to buck hunt in Enfield Chace and the Forest, where, having an excellent horse, I had the honour to attend them sometimes. One day the horse of my Lord Ogle (since the Duke of Newcastle) tiring, I lent him mine, and took my man's. The King dined that day at Sir Edward Wroth's lodge, with the Duke his brother, the Duke of Buckingham, and made us all sit down that hunted with him; where he was in good humour, and drank very hard. Ten days after, attending the Duke again at the same sport, there being nobody in at the death of the buck but the Duke, one of his equerries, and myself, my horse by a sudden turn, riding before his highness, gave me a fall. The Duke was so kind as to ride after my horse to take him, till some of the company came in to do it. Another time, the King being in the field, and I following close behind him, a dog roused a buck out of a bush that leaped over my horse's head, and

very near the King's crupper, and was near touching me with his head.

July 12. Sir Henry Bellasis sent to invite me to dinner at the Bear at the bridge-foot, where one Macdemar, an Irish gentleman, was to give him a venison pasty. At dinner the latter provoked me to give him some language, which he so far resented that he demanded satisfaction, either by denying that I meant any injury to him by the saying of the words, and asking his pardon, or by fighting with him. I denied the first, and so being challenged was obliged to fight him that afternoon in Hyde Park, which I did, an Irish gentleman that he met by the way being his second, and Sir Henry Bellasis mine. At the first pass I hurt him slightly on the sword hand, and at the same time he closing with me, we both fell to the ground (he having hold of my sword and I of his). Sir Henry and his man were fighting at the same time close by, and Sir Henry had got the better, wounded the other in the belly, and disarmed him, and was coming in to us as we were both risen, I having got his sword out of his hands, which I took home with me, but sent it to him the next day. The second to Macdemar was in danger of death by his wound for some weeks, which made us abscond. I was with the Duke of Buckingham the best part of this time at Wallingford House; but at last it pleased God that the man recovered.

August 2. I set forward for Yorkshire, and was soon after followed by the Duke of Buckingham, who by order from the King was sent to his lieutenancy of the West Riding, there to raise the militia to oppose a rebellion which, as the Court had intelligence, was ready to break out in those parts. The parties concerned in the carrying out of this design were some officers of the late Parliament army, and some dissatisfied persons upon account of losing their Crown and Church lands by the King's return, and dissenters in point of religion. The chief of them

were Mr. Rymer and Mr. Oates, men of three or four hundred pounds per annum. Divers others, and some of eminence, as Sir John Hotham and Mr. Stockdale, of Knaresborough, were examined and committed to York upon this suspicion. The discovery came from Colonel Smithson and Colonel Greathead, who had been in service against the King, and were solicited to engage with these rebels. They pretended they would, and met to consult for carrying on the plot, but discovered it from the first to Sir Thomas Gower, who advised them still to dissemble till they had drawn in all the friends they could to join with them, and then to give evidence against them. Some condemned this in Sir Thomas, because upon their several examinations (in the taking of which I was concerned as a deputy-lieutenant) there seemed some to be engaged not so much from inclination as persuasion of those that evidenced against them.

The rendezvous of the militia was appointed near Pontefract; Sir George Savile's regiment of Foot, the duke's own volunteer troop, and Sir Edward Wroth's standing troop of my Lord Oxford's regiment to quarter within the town; and the rest of the forces in the towns and villages adjacent. The night it was expected the rebels would rise I was scarce got to bed at the Duke's quarters, when Mr. Fairfax (since Lord Fairfax) came with intelligence that they were met in a wood called Farnley Wood near the town, and were marching towards it to surprise it. The alarm was presently given, and all went to their arms; but it proved a false alarm in part, for it was true they had met in the wood, but finding their number not suitable to what they expected, they dispersed themselves and went home about break of day. However, about one-and-twenty of them were discovered not only to have been in these councils, but at this rising, and were all found guilty of high treason by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer brought down to York for

their trial in January following, and fifteen of them were executed, of which Rymer and Oates were the chief, their quarters set up in several parts of the country, and their estates begged by Sir Thomas Osborne, since Earl of Danby, and Sir Jordan Crossland, my lieutenant.

The duke went from hence to York, where he stayed some weeks taking the examinations of the prisoners, and diverting himself at nights with his deputy lieutenants and officers, or dancing with the ladies; where happened many adventures.

September 6. I went for London, upon a quarrel between Mistress Brown and me, and the opposition I found amongst my friends to consent to my marriage. I got leave to go for France, and a pass from the general the Duke of Albemarle to carry with me some English horses, which I provided accordingly, but my mother's importunity stopped my journey. She was come up to London for her health, and continued there that winter.

1664.

Sir Henry Bellasis having made some waste in his estate, his father, my Lord Bellasis, advised him of thinking to repair it by getting a rich wife, he having now continued a young widower three years. This counsel and his circumstances made him marry a young lady, daughter to my Lady Armine, worth 1,000*l.* per annum; but his inclinations were so extremely set on another lady, Mistress Gertrude Pierrepoint, that he could never remove them from thence all the time that he lived, though he married the other, and used to say that since he could not marry her nobody else should; for he could not endure to think of any man's enjoying her but himself. The young lady all this time gave him no encouragement in the least, but was exactly virtuous, which made this humour of his the more extravagant.

At this time a report ran that there was a treaty of marriage depending between this lady and Mr. William Russell, second son of the Earl of Bedford (but since Lord William Russell, by the death of his elder brother), and Sir Henry (to pursue what he had declared) sends me with a challenge to Mr. Russell, for having (as he pretended) heard that he had reflected upon him and some friends of his by words, whereas the truth was he was angry for his pretending to Mistress Pierrepoint. When I came to Mr. Russell, he seemed concerned more at the reason of the challenge than at the challenge itself, having (as he said, and I did believe) never spoken ill of Sir Henry nor his friends, and not knowing the true cause, and therefore denying the words. Sir Henry, at my instance, proceeded no further, especially for that he heard the treaty was broken off. The lady long after (and after Sir Henry's death) was married to the Marquis of Halifax; and Mr. Russell was he that was after convicted and executed for high treason.

The war now broke out between us and the Dutch. The Parliament being called, voted that they would stand by his Majesty in this war with their lives and fortunes, and then were prorogued till August the 20th, and afterwards by proclamation till November the 24th. The Parliament then meeting, voted a supply to the King, for the carrying on of this war, of 2,500,000*l.* His royal highness, the High Admiral, set to sea on the 9th. I was now resolved to go volunteer in this service, and was not without hopes to be aboard the Duke's own ship. In order to this I bought a bed, clothes and all necessaries for sea; on the 15th went to ask leave of the King, and to receive his commands to the Duke, intending to part the next day. The King told me that he consented to my going, but had letters to write to the Duke, which he would send by me, and bid me stay for them from day to day (expecting, I found afterwards, first to hear from the

Duke); till, on the 2nd of December, his Majesty told me he should not now write, nor did I need to go, for that the Duke would be speedily on shore, he not being, it seems, able to oblige the Dutch to engage; and so both the Duke and the fleet returned till the next spring.

1665.

This winter my mother consented to my marrying Mistress Brown, thinking it might be a means to fix me at home, which was performed at St. Dunstan's church on the 9th of March, 1665. My wife's fortune was not 1,200*l.*, and my estate, in present portion, only Thrybergh, which was soon after increased by the death of my grandmother Reresby. She gave all her own land to Sir Tamworth Reresby, my uncle, and to her daughter, and part also to her youngest son, called Leonard. Some parts of it she had disposed of in her lifetime to them and others; so that nothing came to me but what she could not hinder me of, which were Ickles and Brinsford (her jointure); and yet I never knew of any quarrel she had to me, but my being a Protestant. However, those gifts seldom prosper out of their right course, for I have since lived to see Sir Tamworth and Leonard sell all their land, and to hide themselves for fear of arrests. The first had 400*l.* a year besides a great sum of money left him by his mother, and the latter had 120*l.* per annum; but the whole estate which my grandmother had and disposed of from the family was 1,200*l.* per annum; as Sir William Dalston assured me, who enjoyed as much then in right of his mother, the sister of and co-heiress with my grandmother. All the benefit we received by her was that she provided for the younger children.

The provision for my brothers and sister by my father's will was out of Brinsford and Ickles, but that bequest was void, he having conveyed that estate in col-

lateral security for some lands he had sold, which were entailed upon me before he had charged them by will. However I gave my sister security for the 1,000*l.* left her by my father, and paid my brothers their annuities; as well obliged to it by affection as my father's intention, as if I had been so by law.

June 12. I came with my family to Thrybergh, where I found my house in a ruinous condition, and all the furniture removed to Beverley, where my stepfather had built a house and lived with my mother; except four beds, six dishes, six pair of sheets, some furniture for the kitchen, six silver spoons, a large silver salt (given me by Sir Francis Foljambe, my godfather), and some old heir-looms, some eight old pictures and as many books, with very little more; and with this stock I began the world.

The portion of my wife was soon gone in paying my debts, which were about 600*l.*, and providing stock and necessaries for my house and grounds. The rental of Brinsford and Ickles did then amount to 429*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and I paid annually out of it to my brothers and sister 220*l.*; my youngest brother I placed at St. John's College in Cambridge, where he soon after obtained a scholarship, and some time after that a fellowship; my second brother Edmond had been bound apprentice to a woollen-draper, but had left his trade. I found him in the country when I came down; he stayed there not long, but went to trail a pike in the King's regiment of Guards; was afterwards volunteer in the three engagements between us and the Dutch at sea in the second war, and was recompensed with a colour at his return to land, some time after with a partisan in the same regiment, which he after sold, and his annuity from me of 60*l.* per annum. With that money he was allowed by the King to buy a company, of which he is now captain. My third brother Jervase went merchant into Spain about this time, where he continues as yet. My sister and my wife's sister

lived with me and my wife; her only brother was at St. Omer at school.

A great plague began this summer in London, of which there died 97,306 persons. It was so violent that people would usually fall down dead in the streets as they went about their occasions; which puts me in mind of a true story of a bagpiper, who being dead drunk, fell asleep in the street, where betimes in the morning he was taken up and thrown into the cart amongst the bodies found dead of the sickness, which they were carrying out of the town to be buried. It being then about daybreak, and the morning dusky, the piper wakened as the cart was going, and took out his pipes, raised himself, and began to play. Those that drove the cart seeing the motion but imperfectly, and hearing the strange noise, ran straight away very much frightened, and reported that they had taken up the devil in the form of a dead man.

My marriage spoiled my going to sea this summer, where his highness had been ever since April, and in June had got a glorious victory over the Dutch. The King went to Salisbury some part of this summer.

August 5. His royal highness and his duchess came down to York, where they stayed till September the 23rd, when the Duke went for Oxford, where the King was to meet the Parliament. The Duchess went not till some time after. Most of the gentry attended at York whilst their highnesses were there. The Duke passed his time in shooting and other exercises, the Duchess in receiving the ladies, which she did very obligingly. One evening having a little snake (which I kept in bran in a box) in my hand as I was in the presence, one of the maids of honour seeing of it was frightened. The Duchess, hearing the noise, and what was the occasion, desired to see the snake, and took it into her hand without any fear. This Duchess was Chancellor Hyde's daughter, and she was a very handsome woman, and had a great deal of wit;

therefore it was not without reason that Mr. Sydney, the handsomest youth of his time, of the Duke's bedchamber, was so much in love with her, as appeared to us all, and the Duchess not unkind to him, but very innocently. He was afterwards banished the Court for another reason, as was reported.

The Duchess in her return lay at Welbeck, the old Duke of Newcastle being alive, where she was splendidly entertained, the Duke of York having directed that the same respect should be paid her wherever she passed as if he were present. The Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Ogle had a quarrel there.

October 5. I went to Oxford, to put the King in mind of his promise to make me high sheriff for the county of York the ensuing year; but I heard that Sir Francis Cobbe (who had been sheriff this very year, and had been at some extraordinary charge in attending upon or receiving the Duke and the Court at York) had obtained the King's promise to continue for another year, at his highness's intercession. To be further assured, I went to the Duke and informed him of my pretensions, and desired his assistance. He confirmed what I had heard before, but told me if I had spoken to him sooner, he would have done the same thing for me, advising me still, if I had the King's promise before, to pursue it. However, I thanked him for the liberty which he gave me, but said I would rather expect a little longer than appear in anything where his highness was concerned for another. The Duke took this very kindly, went with me to the King, and presented me to him for the next year after; who gave me his hand to kiss, and his word once more for it.

December 2. I returned to Thrybergh and kept my first Christmas, where Sir Henry Bellasis came and stayed a great part of it with me.

1666.

January 1. The French King declared war against England, and the King returned to London with the Court not long after.

This spring I mended a great part of my house, which was very ruinous to the south, the timber being decayed as well as the outside, which was only laths and lime or rough cast, with which it was covered.

June 20. I received a letter from the Duke of Buckingham that the King, having given him commission to raise a troop of horse, he had chosen me for his cornet, and therefore desired me to raise some fit men for that service, and to meet him with them at York with all haste. At the same time I had a letter from my friend, Sir Henry Bellasis, telling me how he had endeavoured to be lieutenant to the Duke, but that he came too late, Sir Jordan Crossland being resolved upon before; but that he had so great a mind to be in the same troop with me, that if Sir Jordan would relinquish his claim for 100*l.*, he empowered me to offer it to him, not doubting but that the Duke would be well pleased with it. At this time Sir Jordan Crossland, a fine gentleman and a good soldier, was also governor of Scarborough Castle. The Duke soon after sent me my commission from the King for cornet, dated the 6th July. The whole troop was raised before the end of July, all of them gentlemen or old soldiers, being in number fourscore, beside officers; and the servants that belonged to the troop being as many as their masters. We so ordered the matter that Sir Henry Bellasis was soon after admitted lieutenant instead of Sir Jordan Crossland. All the officers loved music so well that the Duke had a set of violins, Sir Henry had another, and I also had three musicians that played very well, one on the violin, one on the hautboy, and one on the bass-viol. We continued in quarters at York two

months, during which time the Duke exercised the troop himself three times a week. During this time my Lord Cardigan came into the north to see some relations he had there, with his lady, the Earl of Shrewsbury and his lady, and a great retinue. The Duke beginning then that fatal amour with my Lady Shrewsbury (which afterwards cost her husband his life) prevailed with that company to make some stay in York, where he entertained all the company at a vast expense, in my Lord Irwin's house, for a whole month. The days were spent in visits and play, and all sorts of diversions that place could afford; and the nights in dancing sometimes till day the next morning: only the two Earls, not being men for those sports, went to bed something early. I sent at this time for my wife to wait on the Duchess of Buckingham, who, good woman, perceived nothing at that time of the intrigue that was carrying on between her husband and the Countess of Shrewsbury; but her stay there was but short, it being no good school for a young wife. This design (or rather practice) was not however concealed to all people, for my Lord Brudenell, brother to the Countess, told me one day over a bottle of wine, that coming hastily through the dining-room the evening before, he saw two tall persons together, and he thought they looked like the Duke and his sister, but he would not be too inquisitive for fear it should prove so. And one night my Lord Brudenell was sent for from the tavern very late to his sister's chamber to her and my Lord Shrewsbury's friends, they having had a great quarrel of jealousy concerning the Duke, and yet the Countess had so great a power with her lord that he stayed some time after that.

Soon after this company had gone my Lord Fauconberg came to dine with the Duke, where a great deal of company was present, Sir George Savile, since my Lord Halifax, amongst others, who had also a troop of horse. A quarrel happened between the Duke and his lordship upon

some words spoken by the Duke, which his lordship resented, and returned such to his grace, that Sir George Savile was employed to carry his lordship a challenge. I suspecting something of the matter by what I had heard at dinner, went and offered the Duke my service for second; but he told me he knew not whether it would come to fighting or not; if it did he had made choice already of Sir George Savile. Soon after, as I was in the Minster, Sir George came by and desired me to provide him a longer sword (his being too short), by which I found the challenge was accepted, and, watching the Duke's motion, followed him and the rest at a distance to the field, so as I was not perceived, and by the benefit of a hedge was so near where they stood to fight that I heard and saw all that passed. Sir William Francland was second to my Lord Fauconberg. Three of the four drew their swords, but the Duke I found had more mind to parley than to fight, and kept his in the scabbard, till taking some verbal and superficial satisfaction of my Lord Fauconberg, the dispute went no further. I was sorry to see my captain come off so calmly in this matter, and telling Sir Henry Bellasis of it in friendship, he told it to another when he was drunk, who told it to the Duke. Some days after this the troop marched to quarter at Doncaster, where, finding the Duke to frown upon me, I understood from a friend the cause of it, and went presently to Sir Henry, who said he believed he had said something of it when he was drunk, but would deny that he had heard it from me, if the Duke asked him of it, but from his cousin, Lord Fauconberg, for he had heard him say something to the same purpose. I told him it became me so ill, being the Duke's officer, to reflect on my captain, that if he laid it to me it must occasion a quarrel between him and me, and that Sir Henry Bellasis was the last man that I desired to have a difference with. He promised me to disown the whole thing as to me, con-

fessing his fault to reveal anything that was told him in confidence. Soon after the Duke sent for him and me, where he owned he had said what he heard, but not from me, nor could he well recollect from whom, but he thought from my Lord Fauconberg. This made the Duke appear reconciled to me, though I found he never was perfectly, but suspected me still.

August 2. The Duke left the troop and lay that night from Doncaster at Thrybergh, where I entertained him at supper with all the neighbouring gentry as well as I could. He appeared extremely pleased with his reception, and the next day went towards London. Some eight days after, Leeds being looked upon as the most disaffected place of that country, we had orders to go and quarter at Leeds, where the lieutenant, Sir Henry Bellasis, marched the troop, and I followed soon after from Thrybergh. We continued there until the 29th of September following, when, everything being quiet at home, that troop, as well as all the rest, new levied, were reduced. In this troop several younger brothers of good families were private troopers, as Major Gower, Sir John Kaye's brother, Mr. Aldborough, Leonard Reresby, and Edmond Reresby my brother, since captain of the Guards, with many others.

A happy victory was obtained by his Majesty's fleet under the command of Prince Rupert against the Dutch; the Duke of Albemarle was also one of the admirals in this engagement, who maintained the fight with fifty of his Majesty's ships against eighty great ones of the enemy. This was soon after seconded with another victory, so that the Dutch were forced to retire into their harbours towards the latter end of August.

September 2. A great and dismal fire began in Pudding Lane within the city of London, which, notwithstanding all endeavours that could be used, burned to ashes the greatest part of that great and splendid city in the space of four days. It did not stop till it came to

Temple Bar. Many were the conjectures of the cause of this fire; some said it was done by the French, others by the Papists; but it was certainly mere accident. But, however it happened, the dreadful effects of it were not so strange as the rebuilding was of this great city, which, by reason of the King's and Parliament's care (then sitting), and the great wealth and opulency of the city itself, was rebuilt most stately with brick (the greatest part being before nothing but lath and lime) in four or five years' time.

October 2. I went for London to put the King and Duke in mind of their promise to make me high sheriff of the county; where I no sooner appeared before the Duke of York but he told me, 'I remembered you for all you were not here, and your business is done for you.' And at that time, to speak the truth, no prince was observed to be more punctual to his promise. I found what the Duke had told me to be true; the King did graciously confirm it, and named me high sheriff for the county of York, the year ensuing, for all I was not of the three presented to him by the judges.

So soon as my commission was sealed I went for my own house in Yorkshire, and from thence in a few days for York, where great application was made to me for offices; but I made choice of one Mr. Thomas Fairfax for my under-sheriff, and one Kays for my seal keeper. The gaoler then gave me 160*l.* to have the custody of the gaol. I had the same sum presented me for the county court, and I made of the bailiwicks about 145*l.*—in all about 465*l.*, besides the profits of the seal, which made the whole near 1,200*l.*; but the charges of both assizes, salaries to officers, liveries and equipage, took off so much that I cannot say I saved clear 200*l.*, all charges considered. Whilst I was at London I got the broad seal passed in favour of one Mr. Tooker to have the sole making of steel for fourteen years, according to the statute

for new inventions; who covenanted to give me 100*l.* yearly out of it for the fourteen years; but by denying another, who knew the secret as well as he, part of the profit, the patent was reversed, and we lost all.

I received by warrant under the Privy Seal three prisoners, whose names were Johns, Jobson, and Atkinson, from London, supposed to have been in the late plot, to be tried the next assizes. Sir Thomas Gower was to draw up the charge against them. My Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, wrote to me at the same time, recommending the care of that affair to me. The letter and warrant were both dated the 7th of March, 1667.

My Lord Treasurer Southampton and my Lord Ashley wrote to me at the same time, recommending the speedy collection of the poll in that county lately given to the King by Act of Parliament.

The Duke of Buckingham having been some time in disgrace at Court, absented himself, and was suspected of some ill practices against the King, insomuch as a proclamation was issued out to apprehend him, and dispersed into several parts of England to be published, and amongst others to me as high sheriff of the county. I confess I was at some loss to know how to act in this matter, between the obligation of my place, and that which I had formerly had to that duke; but the judges coming down to the assizes at York, advised me to proclaim it, which for ever after lessened me in the esteem of that lord. His grace by this means lost all his employments, and my Lord Burlington succeeded him in that of the lieutenancy of the West Riding.

By letter dated the 16th of March, my Lord Burlington desired my assistance to provide him deputy lieutenants and officers for the militia, several gentlemen laying down their commands who had held them under the Duke of Buckingham, as Sir George Savile (since Marquis of Halifax), who was colonel of foot and deputy lieutenant, Sir

Thomas Osborne (since Earl of Danby), another colonel of foot and deputy lieutenant, and almost all their officers. However I so ordered the matter, with the assistance of some others, that his lordship (though himself not much acquainted in the West Riding) was supplied with new officers. My lord was very pressing that I would accept of the command of Sir Thomas Osborne's regiment, which lay round about me, and to which my father was major in the Scotch war. I had some reasons to refuse it, and only accepted of a commission for deputy lieutenant; but I found him Sir John Lewis for colonel of that regiment, and Sir Gervase Cutler for lieutenant-colonel, and they found their own officers. We had war with Denmark at this time.

1667.

The assizes were appointed this year in March. I took a house in the Minster yard, where I entertained all comers for ten days together; my friends sent me 'twixt two hundred and three hundred liveries. I kept two coaches, one for myself, another for my under-sheriff, had my own violins there all the assizes, and gave a ball and entertainment to all the ladies of the town. These assizes cost me 300 and odd pounds.

The Duke of Buckingham, his disgrace being now blown over, was restored to his lieutenancy of the West Riding, but he gave no commissions of lieutenancy, &c., to those that had taken them under my Lord Burlington.

My Lord Burlington was telling the Duke of York one day that he had omitted me in the list of his deputy lieutenants. His lordship told me that his highness replied that his grace would never pardon me for relating his behaviour in his quarrel with my Lord Fauconberg to Sir Henry Bellasis. The truth is, his temper was so suitable to the King's, he had much to do to be angry with him

long, which made him dispense with many insolences; for example, after the battle of Worcester, the Duke of Buckingham saved himself by flight in Holland, reported that the King had ill-behaved himself in that conflict, and that he lay now hidden in some gentleman's house, and was happier in his own opinion than if he was upon his throne; which being told to the Princess of Orange, she forbade him to come to the Court. I myself have heard him in his mirth make too bold with his Majesty and his brother.

During his disgrace the Duke lay concealed in Sir Henry Bellasis's house, who ran a great hazard in this and some other particulars for his sake; and when he was restored Sir Henry had so ill returns for what he did (as he told me himself), that for some slight jealousy he had of him for the Countess of Shrewsbury (altogether undeserved), he never came nor sent to see him all the while he lay ill of the wound given him by Mr. Porter, which put a period to his dear life.

May 25. I had orders from Court to give notice to the lord lieutenants or their deputies to draw some of the militia to the seaside towards Burlington, it being feared that the Dutch would make a descent upon that coast; but my Lord Bellasis, then lord lieutenant of the East Riding, thought it not needful so soon, Sir Jerome Smith being come with his squadron to secure that coast. About this time I received a letter from my Lord Burlington, who was then a great friend of my Lord Chancellor Clarendon (an alliance being now concluded between them, Mr. Laurence Hyde, since Lord Rochester and Lord High Treasurer of England, second son to the Lord Chancellor, having married my Lord Burlington's daughter), whereby he acquainted me that he had made my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Arlington sensible of my services to the Government, and of the obligations I had laid upon him in particular.

June 4. I had a letter from Secretary Morice, whereby he ordered me to send up one Levens, a prisoner of State then in my gaol, which I observed; but I found afterwards it was not regular, for I ought not to have parted with him without a Habeas Corpus.

About this time I had notice to write to my Lord Bellasis that some foot and a troop of horse should be sent to reinforce his lordship in the East Riding from the deputy lieutenants of the West Riding, if he so desired, which was done accordingly.

A peace was concluded with France, Denmark, and the States-General; but before it was sufficiently known, the Dutch sent a part of their fleet up the river Thames as high as Chatham, where they burnt several of his Majesty's ships, and put the whole city of London into such a fear that they were ready to leave their houses and estates to the mercy of the enemy, whom they believed already at their backs. The militia of the City and several of the Guards were drawn down to oppose them, where a great many were killed before they could repulse them.

The Parliament was prorogued near this time till October, which had then given his Majesty a tax upon land. The King, wanting money by advance, sent to borrow it in several parts of the kingdom, and in Yorkshire amongst others, offering to give security out of the land tax to repay it. A meeting of the deputy lieutenants was held at York to this purpose, my Lord Burlington being again lord lieutenant of the West Riding by another disgrace that the Duke of Buckingham lay under; but no money could be gotten, they and others excusing themselves to my Lord Burlington, and so to the King, by reason of the poverty of the country.

Mason, a prisoner of State, sent down guarded by some ten troopers of the guard to be tried at York, was rescued by five men at Ferrybridge and taken from them.

One Scott that commanded the guard was killed, and some of the party ill wounded. I passed there about a quarter of an hour before the fact was done. Hue-and-cry, with all other endeavours, were used to take the rescuers, but all ineffectually. I gave my Lord Arlington a speedy account of the whole matter. We since understood that one Mr. Blood (the same that took my lord of Ormond prisoner out of his coach in London streets, stole the regal crown, and did several desperate actions afterwards) was the chief of the party. And yet the King, having taken him, thought fit to pardon him for all these crimes.

July 30.—I found from a letter dated that day from my Lord Arlington that the said rescue was thought the most insolent act against the King and the Government that had happened of a long time; as also that the late project of the loan for the King had produced a small effect all over England.

The summer assizes were held at York, which lasted ten days and cost me 300*l.* The troubles and fears of people were so great at this time that there was but little business of law, which made my profit proportionable. Mr. Justice Turner and Mr. Justice Rainsford were the two judges who came that circuit. Ten were condemned and executed that assizes for murder, horse-stealing, and other felonies.

My Lord Southampton, Lord High Treasurer of England, being lately dead, the said office was first put into the hands of four commissioners—the Duke of Albemarle, my Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), Sir William Coventry (who was secretary to the Duke of York), and Sir John Duncombe. The Parliament having sat from the 29th of July, amongst other things fell upon the then great favourite the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England and father-in-law of the Duke of York; and as an impeachment was preparing against him,

the King took from him the great seal and gave it to Sir Orlando Bridgman as Lord Keeper. Some months after my Lord Clarendon, fearing the pursuit of his adversaries in and out of Parliament, thought fit to retire secretly into France, where he died some years after. The greatest enemy that this earl had in the House of Lords was the Duke of Buckingham; and Sir Thomas Osborne, since Earl of Danby, in the House of Commons; which was the first step to Sir Thomas's future rise, by the help of the Duke of Buckingham, who was now perfectly restored to the King's favour and acted as principal Minister of State. The King consulted him chiefly in all matters of moment; the foreign ministers applied themselves to him, before they were admitted to have audience of the King; but he was so unfit for this character, by reason of his giving himself up to his pleasures, that (turning the night into day and the day into night) he neglected both his attendance upon the King, the receiving of ministers, and other persons that waited to speak to him, and indeed all sort of business, so that he lasted not long.

The lieutenancy being now in the Duke's hands and taken from my Lord Burlington, I was one of those in the West Riding with many more that his grace was angry with. My Lord Burlington, speaking to the King of this, and of the services I did him in that country, the King spoke more kindly of me than I deserved, and said he would make peace between us; but whether his Majesty attempted or not I never enquired, or applied myself to his grace. For having gained his displeasure for nothing but the preferring the King's service to his friendship, I was not sorry that he frowned upon me for doing my duty. And this the King understood very well.

October 20. I went to London to pass my account of Sheriff in the Exchequer; and it having proved no beneficial year, I begged two hundred pounds of fines and

escheats which I had in my hands, which was granted me; but Sir William Coventry, then one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, persuading me rather to stay for something more considerable, made me lose it. By the best computation I could make I got not clear by being high sheriff above 300*l.*[1]

My poor mother, who continued to have her health very ill at Beverley, came this year early to Thrybergh, where I received her with that respect and kindness due to so discreet and careful a parent as she had been (in all things but her second marriage).

[1] A letter of Reresby to Joseph Williamson, preserved among the State papers in the Public Record Office, gives a somewhat different account of this business. The following is a literal copy of it :—

THRIBERGE, September 28th, '67.

Sir,—The experience of y^r^ kindenesse thes many years that I have had the Honour to be knowne to you, encourageth me to beg one expression of it more, in interceading for me to my Lord Arlington in a Businesse, wherein though I should much desire to succeed I shall noe wayes insist upon farther than y^r^ own discretion shall thinke fitt to proceede: S^r^ it is this: When I petitioned y^e^ King to be sheriff of this county, He was pleased to grant it in some measure as a Compensation for thos losses my family had susteined In his maiesties and his father's service. But the thruth is, y^e^ poverty of the country, y^e^ late war, and especially that attempt upon Chatham iust upon y^e^ preparation of processe for our Assizes (which is our chiefe time of Harvest) have put soe great a stop to all Businesse and consequently to our profitt, that it hath rather been a Losse then an advantage this year. Now that we have peace I soppose y^e^ following may be better. I should therefore desire of you (if you thinke it convenient) to moove my Lord Arlington to use his Interest with his Maiestie that I may be continued another year, assuring his Lordship, that I shall use my utmost endeavour for his Maiesties service, as I hope none can object but I have done for y^e^ time past: what I aske is custumary; my predecessor had it two years together and to my knowledge it was granted him a second for not having made a benefitt of it y^e^ first. S^r^ If this succeed y^u^ will give me leave to present y^u^ with a Hundred pieces en part of my acknowledgements, this being the least that is due to y^u^ both by y^e^ rules of good Husbandry, and iustice, since my own Comming up to sollicitt it must necessarily proove of greater expence to S^r^.

Y^r^ obliged and most humble servant,
J. RERESBY.

Be pleased not to take notice of y^e^ contents of this to y^e^ Bearer, but to lett me know y^r^ sense thereoff at y^r^ best leisure in three lines.

1668.

It was this year that I begun to build that side of the house towards the church at Thrybergh with stone, which was only before laths and rough cast, and to lay the garden walls in lime and sand, and to make them higher, my father having before encompassed the same ground with a low dry wall. Not but that Sir John Reresby, my father, was exactly curious in his garden, and was of the first that acquainted that part of England (so far north) with the exactness and nicety of those things—not only as to the form or contrivance of the ground, but as to excellency and variety of fruits, flowers, greens, in which he was rather extravagant than curious, for he placed his pleasure not only innocently but pleasantly in it. All this was of little advantage to me, for though I was at charge of keeping servants to preserve it in my absence and minority, much of it went to ruin and decay, and the form of gardening was so different to what was used at this day, that it was almost as chargeable to me to put the ground into that method and form as to replant it as if it had never been enclosed. I made this summer the *jet d'eau* or the fountain in the middle of the parterre, and the grotto in the summerhouse, and brought the water in lead pipes. I then built the north side of the house also with stone, which was rough cast before.

September. About that time died my poor mother at Beverley, a woman of incomparable wit, judgment, beauty, and of great piety and conduct; only her second marriage was thought not altogether to her advantage. She left living four sons and one daughter by my own father, and two sons by Mr. Moyser; the eldest son died soon after. She lies buried as she desired at Thrybergh, near the ashes of my father, where I have dedicated a small monument to their memories. God prepare me to follow them to that

last home! That year I kept open Christmas at Thrybergh.

The Duke of Newcastle, late general of the King's army in our civil wars, was then near eighty years of age, but very ingenious and present to himself. He used to say that he hoped to see five generations of my family; that he knew Sir Thomas Reresby very well, and desired to be godfather to my son, if he lived till one was born to the family. My Lord Castleton and my Lady Viscountess Monson (my aunt) were his partners at the font.

I went to London in the spring with my family, where the Court and town were in great joy and gallantry; peace being now concluded with France, Denmark and the States-General, and also with Spain. Ambassadors extraordinary were sent and received with great splendour, to confirm the same between the said princes.

1669.

April. The Prince of Tuscany came to London with a retinue and equipage suitable to his quality. The King entertained him magnificently; after some time he kept house at his own charge, where he had all the portable varieties for food and drink Italy could afford. I dined twice with him; he was very kind to me, as he was to all those that had travelled in Italy, and spoke the language. The Prince of Denmark was there also this spring, who some years after married the Princess Anne of England. All these jollities were turned into mourning for the death of the Queen Mother, who died about this time at Paris. She was a great princess, and my very good mistress.

The Earl of Strafford's butler, one that had got 800*l.* or 900*l.* in service, died at Brinsford, a lordship of mine. I then being at London, when I had notice of it, I begged

it of the King, who was pleased to give me that estate. My Lord of Strafford afterwards petitioned the King for it, pretending that he was at the time of his death actually in his service, and that the said estate was acquired in his service, and no caveat having been put into the office, he obtained a second grant of it. This pretension on both sides bred some coolness between his lordship and me, and several letters passed between us; at last it was agreed that what part of the estate lay within my lordship should be mine, and what was in other places should go to him.

1670.

January. That great and faithful subject, Colonel Monk, Duke of Albemarle, general of all his Majesty's forces, died in his apartment at the Cockpit at Whitehall. The King, in commemoration of his services, conferred the lieutenancy of Devonshire, and the office of the Gentleman of the Bedchamber, on his only son, and gave him his father's garter. This family claims a relation to mine by the Yarburghs. His body was buried in April following, at the King's charge, in Westminster Abbey, with great solemnity.

This year I was confined to Thrybergh to finish the inside of the tower of which the case was built the year before, and to make new ceilings or limewash to most of the rooms throughout the whole house, which was much decayed, and to new wainscot several of the rooms, and to paint the whole house.

I was the first in these parts that began to rebuild or repair my house according to the mode of that time, which others have since followed with more advantage; but I was confined to the model, the height and proportion of rooms; and, which was worst, to a narrow purse, but yet I may say I made it as convenient a house as any of theirs.

My father having sold a great deal of timber in the old park, and reduced his park to so narrow a compass just before the house, that the deer did not live or increase to any number, I added some field land to it, which I exchanged with the tenants for other land with a brow, or cliff of wood, belonging to the common, all lying to the south, and compassed it well with a stone wall.

Mr. Strickland, housekeeper of the manor of York to the King, and his receiver of the duty of hearth-money, having died, I desired my Lord Burlington to speak to the Duke of York to beg the succession of both those places for me. The Duke told his lordship that if he had but mentioned it two hours sooner it had been done, for his Majesty had granted it to another but so long before.

I had been for some time in commission of the peace for the West Riding, and had refused to be sworn to avoid the trouble as well as to gain time to study the statute law; at last finding it of some use to one's self as others, and being much importuned by friends to take it upon me, I was this year sworn, and have since endeavoured to acquit myself of that office according to my duty.

It was this summer that the Princess of Orleans, the King's sister, came over to Dover, where the King, the Duke of York, and the whole Court, went to meet her. It was here that she confirmed his highness the Duke in the popish religion, of which he had not as yet been suspected; and it was said to be one of the greatest arguments, that his mother the Queen had commanded him upon her last blessing to profess that religion. Before that he was thought rather inclined to favour the Presbyterians; for not long before, a Nonconformist minister being prosecuted at Pontefract sessions for preaching in conventicle upon the statute, it was reported that both his highness and the Duke of Buckingham (then principal minister of State) had written in his favour to the

justices; but the Duke, as I was attending upon him in St. James's Park, called me to him, and discoursing that thing to me, said that it was a mistake, that he had not concerned himself in it, although he was so much the friend of that sort of people that he wished the law had not been put in execution against him (or to that effect); but that he did not write. He bade me at the same time represent him, upon occasion, as no enemy to such. I told his highness there was one Mr. Vincent, my kinsman, in town, a leading man of that party. He bade me bring him to Court, which I did the next day, and his highness took him aside, and discoursed him a great while. Most believed that this was done out of polity at this time, for there were some that discoursed of an intrigue then on foot to divorce the Queen from the King, which he endeavoured, by thus courting of all parties, to prevent.

The Duke of Orleans had been jealous for some time before of the Comte de Guiche; and, if stories be true, not without ground. It was said, too, that she was in love with the Duke of Monmouth, while at Dover; however, things had been so represented to the duke her husband, that she died very suddenly after her return to Paris, and not without notorious suspicion of having been poisoned.

The Parliament met in October, according to the prorogation. During this session Sir John Coventry reflected on the King's immoral life, in some speech he made in the House; which being told the Duke of Monmouth, he set Sir Thomas Sands (an officer of the Guards) and three or four more, to waylay him as he went late home to his lodgings; who, taking him out of his coach, slit his nose. This being complained of in the House, did so inflame the House, that it occasioned the framing of that Act against malicious maiming and wounding.

The Prince of Orange being at this time come into

England, to pretend to the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of his highness the Duke of York, the King received him—both upon the account of his relation and merit, being a very personable and hopeful prince—with great splendour. Amongst other of his entertainments the King made him drink very hard one night at a supper, given by the Duke of Buckingham. The Prince did not naturally love it, but being once entered, was more frolic and merry than the rest of the company; amongst other expressions of it he broke the windows of the chambers of the maids of honour and had got into some of their apartments, had they not been timely rescued. I suppose his mistress did not less approve of him for that vigour.

CHAPTER V.

Family Affairs and Lawsuits—Proclamation of Indulgence—Victory over the Dutch—Lord Halifax in the Privy Council—Lady Monson, Viscountess Castlemaine—The King and the Bankers—Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds) made Lord High Treasurer—Sir Henry Goodricke—Reresby stands for a Yorkshire Borough—Opinions in Parliament—Formation of Parties—Aldborough Election—Five Candidates and nine Electors—Benson the Attorney—Double Return—The Duke of York's Marriage—Buckingham and the Lord Treasurer—Meeting of Parliament—Election Petition—Sir John voted a Member—His Opinion of Parties—The King's Debts—Ways and Means—Waller the Poet—Grievances—Luzance the Jesuit—Lord Cavendish and Colonel Howard—Sir John Fagg—A question of Privilege—The Hallamshire Corporation of Cutlers—The Hearth Tax—Death of Benson—Summer Visitors at Thrybergh—Malicious Accusation against Reresby—Attempt to gain his Estates—Conversations with the King and Danby on Public Affairs—The Duke of Norfolk and his Brothers—The King and the Money Bills—Disputes between the Houses—At Windsor—English Relations with France—Danby and Ormond—Danby confides in Reresby—The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale at Ham—Disputes between the King and the Commons—Interview with the Duke of York—Farming the Revenue—Lord Yarmouth and Lord Henry Howard.

1671.

It was this year that I endeavoured to retrieve that great and ancient estate lately belonging to my family called Ashover, in Derbyshire. It consisted of three manors called Reresby's Manor, Babington's Manor, and Peschal's Manor; the two first belonged to Sir Thomas Reresby, my great grandfather, the one by descent the other by purchase, valued at this day at 800*l.* per annum. Sir Thomas did mortgage these two manors to Sir Samuel Tryon for 800*l.*, and charged them besides with 3,000*l.* for portions to two of his daughters; and soon after died.

Sir George Reresby, who had the equity of redemption in him, neglected to look after it till the creditors and those that married the two daughters got a decree in chancery to sell the estate. Sir George, dying, left my father Sir John under age and ward to his mother, who had more care of her own land (for she was an heiress) than of that of the family. Soon after my said father was married he began to look into the state of the sale, and commenced suit against the purchasers. But the contest being likely to be tedious and chargeable, and he being very narrow in his fortune, and the civil wars coming on, he closed with some offers of small sums of money for accommodation, and confirmed the purchasers' estates. When I came to look into this affair, I found it in this desperate condition; however, I first preferred a bill in chancery, and then I petitioned the House of Lords, when they, fearing my interest (more than the equity of their cause, which was backed by a possession of fifty years), offered me some composition for agreement. The truth is I found by several of the lords that there was little hope to succeed in that House after so ancient a possession and a decree of that standing; and most, the confirmation of my father, from whom I claimed, so that I accepted 500*l.* which the purchasers gave me, being more than my father had got to confirm their estates thirty years before. This was a great loss to the family, for which Sir George was most to blame; for besides that it was our most ancient estate, and that the revenue was now actually worth 800*l.* per annum, as I said before, there hath been lead got out of that land since the sale of it worth fourscore thousand pounds, besides what lies ungotten in it at this day.

March 31. Anne, Duchess of York, died, and declared herself a Papist at the time of her death.

It was at this time that I had commenced suit against the Countess Dowager Strafford (who lived then at Hooton

Roberts) for planting a warren and opening a quarry upon the common (which I opposed as a freeholder within Hooton and Lord of Denby). But it went no further, my Lord of Strafford and her ladyship both consenting that the warren should be destroyed and the quarry filled up.

This year I took in that part of the park with a wall that lies beyond the ponds to the south. It was this summer also that I paved the courts and built the long stable and the house at Thrybergh.

I kept open Christmas this year at Thrybergh, as formerly.

The Parliament had sat this year and enacted several bills. War was declared against the States-General.

The city of London had recovered herself in a great measure out of her ashes, and was so far rebuilt this year that the King was invited on my Lord Mayor's Day to dinner, which he accepted.

1672.

March 15. The King did issue out his proclamation for the indulgence of tender consciences. This made a great noise not only in the succeeding Parliaments (where at last it was reversed), but throughout the kingdom, and was the greatest blow that ever was given, since the King's restoration, to the Church of England; all sectaries by this means repairing publicly to their meetings and conventicles, insomuch that all the laws, and care of their execution, against these separatists afterwards, could never bring them back to due conformity.

This summer the French joined with us against the Dutch, and betrayed us at the same time, for in the sea fight upon the 18th of May the French squadrons stood off and left us and the Dutch to dispute the day; whereas if they had come up and assisted the Duke of York, who then commanded the whole as high admiral, we had got

a most signal victory; and yet we had so much the better that, after a fight of eight hours, the Dutch fleet retreated. In this fight died Edward Montague, Earl of Sandwich, vice-admiral.

My brother went to sea a volunteer (I mean the Captain Edmond Reresby), and was in all this engagement, where he behaved himself so well that he was soon after preferred from ensign to lieutenant in the King's own regiment of Guards.

September 28. I went to London with my family, and stayed there all the winter.

My Lord Halifax came this year into business, and was sworn of the privy council. He was soon after sent into commission with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington as ambassadors into Holland, but to no purpose, for the war continued.

My aunt Monson, wife of the Lord Monson (one of the late King's judges, and condemned to perpetual confinement and degraded by Act of Parliament), being desirous to be restored to the dignity of Viscountess Castlemaine of the kingdom of Ireland, desired me to make what interest I could with his Majesty to obtain it. I got several friends to move the King in that particular, chiefly my Lord Ogle (then of the bedchamber, since Duke of Newcastle) and my Lord Arlington. In fine the King, out of consideration of the loyalty of her own family, was pleased to remove the stain that was upon her from the treason of her husband, and to restore her by a particular grant to her said honour. For the obtaining of which she presented me with one hundred pounds.

I was informed that the King intended to make a fort at Burlington, and to furnish it with stores and cannon for the security of collier ships and other traders and merchantmen that passed by that bay, which were often trapped by the Dutch. I immediately applied myself to the Duke of York to intercede for me to his Majesty

that, in case that design went on, I might have the command of that place. His royal highness did speak to the King for me, who promised the fort should be raised, and that I should be governor of it, and appointed the Master of the Ordnance to send down an engineer to take a platform or model of the fortification. But whilst this was in hand the Duke refused to take the oaths which were tendered to him as admiral of England, and thereby declared himself a Roman Catholic, laying down all his employments; so that nothing more was done in my affair for that time.

The King having borrowed the greatest part of the ready coin of the nation of the goldsmiths (at that time called bankers) shut up the exchequer, which caused the most considerable of them to break, and an infinite number of people, whose money those bankers had borrowed at interest, to be undone.

1673.

I continued this year to build the park wall as I enlarged it; and, living the most part at Thrybergh, applied myself to the study and exercise of the office of justice of the peace, and had so much business that my clerk confessed that he made above forty pounds that year of his place. My neighbour, Sir Thomas Osborne, rose this year to the great office of Lord High Treasurer of England, my Lord Clifford laying down his staff and confessing himself a Papist. The Duke of Buckingham was the main instrument to effect this for Sir Thomas, by making a bargain between my Lord Clifford and him, which was that Sir Thomas should officiate the place, and give Clifford half the salary, and then prevailed with the King to give the staff to Sir Thomas, then created Viscount Dumblane, though afterwards he was made Earl of Danby.

and had a patent passing for marquis just as he fell into disgrace.

The war continued this year with the Dutch, Prince Rupert being admiral for us, and the Count d'Etrées for the French King. We had two victories over them; in one we lost that great seaman Sir Edward Spragg.

My brother Edmond was at sea again this year and in both these engagements, but came off very safe.

The Parliament had met in the spring, and was adjourned till October. Sir Francis Goodricke being dead, one of the burgesses for Aldborough, I was persuaded by Sir Henry Goodricke, who had some interest there, and stood also for burgess of Boroughbridge, a neighbouring town, where there was also a vacancy by the death of Sir Robert Long, to stand for Parliament man. My doing business at York and in several other parts of the county, and being most commonly at the General Sessions, and frequently giving the charge, made me known to that side of the county, though so remote from my own house. I was also well acquainted with some gentlemen (besides Sir Henry Goodricke) neighbours to that place, who gave me their interest, but my greatest obligation was to Sir Henry. This Sir Henry Goodricke was a gentleman of fine parts naturally, and those improved by great reading and travel, one that being fixed at his excellent seat at Ribstone, near Knaresborough, pleased himself there, and had no thoughts (no more than myself) to be in any public business that might call us out of the country, till these vacancies falling out tempted us to do it. He was, after his being known in Parliament, sent by King Charles II., his ambassador into Spain, and we always continued so kind friends that we called ourselves brothers.

The state of that Parliament was this at the time: all things had been carried on from the time of its being called (which was soon after the King's restoration) with

great calm and success for the advantage of the Crown. They had given the King a very great revenue upon tonnage and poundage, the excise on several sorts of liquors, hearth-money, besides temporary taxes, arising to above three times more per annum than any other king of England had before. This began to weigh heavy upon the country, and to make them repine, which stirred up some gentlemen in both Houses to oppose this current, which was called the Country party in opposition to those others, whom they called the Court party. The first of these pretended to protect the country from being overburdened in their estates, in their privileges and liberties as Englishmen—to stand by the religion and government as established by law. The other declared for that too, but at the same time for the King to have a sufficient revenue and power for the exercise of his regal authority, without too much depending upon the people, since it had proved of so ill consequence in the example of his father. This difference made gentlemen more active to come into Parliament as opportunity offered, as their inclinations led them to one side or the other; which was the cause of great competitions in elections, and of great charges to those that stood, insomuch that it did cost some persons from one or two hundred pounds to two thousand. This was not all the reason of some men's so eager endeavour to be Parliament men neither. Such as were in debt found protection by it, this Parliament having sat so long, and meeting so often, and others had gotten great presents from Court to stand by that interest. So that it was no wonder, when I offered myself to stand at Aldborough, if I had no fewer than five competitors, among whom were Sir Jerome Smithson, Mr. Richard Aldborough, Sir John Hewley, and Mr. Long. There were none of these that I apprehended so much as Mr. Benson, the most notable and formidable man for business of his time; one of no birth, and that had raised himself from being

clerk to a country attorney to be clerk of the peace at the Old Bailey, to clerk of assize of the northern circuit, and to an estate of 2,500*l.* per annum, but not without suspicion of great frauds and oppressions. Besides, he was the great favourite of my Lord Dumblane, then Lord High Treasurer of England.

The way that had been used time out of mind in that borough for choosing Parliament men was only by nine electors, the owners of nine burgage houses; but Mr. Wentworth, lord of the manor, pretended that long since there were twenty-four houses that had right to elect, which being at this time in his own possession, he and his predecessors had given but one vote for them all; and therefore pretended to alienate and sell them now to create so many more votes. These Mr. Wentworth gave to Mr. Benson. Mr. Long stood by the popularity of the householders at large that paid scot and lot. I stood by the only known way of electing, which was by the nine (of which I had the majority), and all the rest desisted before the day of election; so that the sheriff made a double return of Mr. Benson and me, but did not return Mr. Long.

Being at London I solicited the House of Commons that a day might be appointed to determine the merit of the return between Mr. Benson and me, which he also desired; but before the day of hearing came the Parliament was prorogued till the 10th of November next, so that I had the charge of bringing up witnesses to London to no purpose.

The Houses being risen, I was informed by some of the members of the Lower House that Benson had thrown some reflections upon me in his discourse, as if I was a friend to the Court interest, and it was doubted how I stood inclined to the Church. Upon this I wrote to him, and sent the letter by my brother the lieutenant, that I was not against his using all fit and lawful means

for the success of his cause in Parliament; but if he went about to make it appear better by making me or mine appear worse than we deserved, and by unjust reflections upon either me or it, he should give me satisfaction for it. He sent me word that those that told me so did him wrong, that he never had said anything to my prejudice, and never would, and gave it me under his hand.

I returned to Thrybergh soon after, where I passed the summer. I laid out that year near 500*l.* in land in Mexborough and elsewhere.

1674.

This spring I set that walk with ashes and sycamores which leads down to the ponds, and so to the park wall towards Rotherham. And though I might have planted trees of better kinds, yet I found that these agreed best with the soil, and were of the speediest growth. I then made also the two lowest fish-ponds in the park, and stored them with tench and carp.

September. The Duke of Albemarle came down to visit the Duke of Newcastle and my Lord Ogle, who then lived at Worksop Manor. His lordship sent for me to wait upon the duke, with whom I then made so great an acquaintance that his grace kept me there eight days. He told me I was related to him by the Yarburghs, and ever after called me cousin.

His highness the Duke of York declared his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Duke of Modena, who had arrived here not long before with the duchess her mother. The nation was much troubled at it, she being a strict Papist, and the match having been arranged by the French King.

November. The Duke of Buckingham fell again into the King's ill opinion, by the means of the Duchess of Portsmouth, a French lady, and then the King's mistress,

who had the best interest with him, a very fine woman, and as most thought, sent over on purpose to ensnare the King, who was easily taken with that sort of trap. His grace endeavoured by the means of my Lord Treasurer to be restored, but could not effect it. The truth is, my Lord Treasurer was not so zealous to bring it to pass as he ought to have been, considering that he was chiefly obliged to the Duke of Buckingham for his white staff, for which he was accused of ingratitude by others as well as the duke himself. One thing that the King took ill of him at this time was, that being summoned before the House of Commons to give an account of certain matters which they looked upon as miscarriages of government whilst he was chief minister, he did not only appear, which he needed not to have done, being a peer, and without the King's leave, but to excuse himself reflected upon others, and behaved himself in that assembly in too submissive and mean a manner. However that did not excuse him, for the Commons made an address that it would please the King to lay him aside as to all his employments of trust and profit; and he was called to answer at the bar of the House of Lords for his scandalous living as man and wife with my Lady Shrewsbury, having one of his own, and for having killed my Lord of Shrewsbury after he had debauched his wife.

The lieutenancy of the West Riding was given to my Lord of Danby, Lord Treasurer, who immediately sent me a commission for deputy lieutenant.

In November the King prorogued the Parliament until the 13th of April.

I kept Christmas at Thrybergh, where I entertained several friends that came to visit me from Aldborough and that side. I bought then a house at Aldborough and the fee farm rent of Ickles from the Crown.

1675.

April 6. The time for the meeting of the Parliament approaching, I with my wife and family went for London, where we came safe. The House being met I petitioned the committee of privileges and elections that the merits of my return and of the cause might be tried together, which was voted (Mr. Long's friends in the committee being for this as well as mine). Mr. Benson, surprised with this, thinking he had the better of the return by a trick he had played, petitioned the whole House that the merit of the return might be first tried, which the House remits back to be considered of again by the committee. Sir Thomas Meres, the chairman of the committee, told me that the committee was disposed to confirm what they had done, but were so angry at the same time with Benson for petitioning the House against their vote, that he rather advised me to let the return be first tried, not doubting but that I might get into the House. I consented to this, and a day was named for hearing. The day before I was advised that the return had been altered by some artifice since it came out of the sheriff's hands, and before it was returned into the Crown Office, in favour of Mr. Benson. The words of a double return are these: '*Executio istius brevis patet in quibusdam indenturis huic brevi annexis*'; and Benson had caused it to be altered thus: '*Executio istius brevis patet in quâdam indenturâ huic brevi annexâ*,' as if his indenture was only returned, and mine fixed to the writ to no purpose. When it came to be heard I proved so plainly by Sir Henry Goodricke, who was then of the House, that the return was altered since it came from the sheriff, that Benson lost the cause by the very act whereby he hoped to have got it; and I was voted the sitting member. The next day, upon the report of the vote of the committee, it was confirmed by the vote of the House; and being sworn, I was conducted

into the House by my Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, and the Lord Cavendish, eldest son to the Lord Devonshire; and there took my place upon the 14th of April, being my birthday. Thus it pleased God to make the weak to overcome the strong.

Being thus received into the House of Commons, I found the two factions extreme warm one against the other. The Court part was very pressing to get money to supply the King's occasions; the other for giving no more without some new laws for the better securing the Protestant religion and property. Most part of the time being spent in debates *pro* and *con.* little was effected, for the two parties were so near equal that neither of them durst put it to a question. In June Doctor Sherley preferred a petition to the House of Lords against Sir John Fagg, a member of the Lower House, to appear and answer in a cause which he had brought into the Lords House, and a summons was sent to Sir John accordingly. This the Commons considered as a breach of privilege, and were in so great a heat upon it that several bold votes passed in either House, the one against the other, upon that occasion, which caused the King to adjourn the Parliament.

During this short time of sitting in the House, I confess I thought the country party had great reason in their debate; but I was careful how I voted, the merit of my cause being yet behind.

My Lord Treasurer was fallen on in the House of Commons, but came off very well for that time.

June 24. I returned for Yorkshire, and continued to build and enlarge the park towards the old park, dividing it into two by a wall. Of one moiety I made a farm or two, the other I added to the park.

My Lord Darcy of Aston was at this time at great difference with his brother-in-law Sir Henry Marwood, high sheriff of the county, and both of them complaining to me, I

endeavoured to make them friends, and effected it. This summer I bought of one Sturdy one moiety of a rent-charge issuing out of my estate, 36*l.* per annum, contracted by Sir George Reresby. It cost me 225*l.*

The Parliament being to meet speedily, I went for London the 28th of September.

The committee of elections had no sooner sat but my two competitors, Benson and Long, petitioned against me that a day might be named for the hearing the merit of cause or election between them and me. It was their business to get a speedy day, but mine (since I was in possession) to get as long a day as I could; and by the interest of my friends got it put off for six weeks, or indeed for that session, for the other business of the House was so great that the Parliament was prorogued before the election came to be heard. I took a particular or journal with my own hand of what was debated and passed this session (too long to be inserted here), but the chief matters were these:—

The King in his speech had told us that he was four millions in debt, besides what he owed to the goldsmiths or bankers, of a vast sum more (for the which he then paid neither principal nor interest, to the ruin of many families). It being put to the vote whether money should be given or not, 'twas carried in the negative by four voices only, when there were near four hundred members present; but it appearing that both the Dutch and French did exceed us both in the proportion and number of our ships, three hundred thousand pounds were voted to be given to the King for the building of twenty ships, viz., one of the first rate, five of the second rate, and fourteen of the third.

Several ways were debated for the raising this sum. Some were for the way of land tax, others by subsidy, some for raising it upon the Jews, others by poll, others upon French commodities, others upon consumption of

our own, and upon merchandise. At last it was agreed to be laid upon land, to be paid in eighteen months; to be lodged apart in the Exchequer, and appropriated to that use, with very severe penalties upon the officers which should apply it to any other use. The proportion of the sum, the time of its being raised, and these other circumstances, did no ways satisfy the Court. Voted further: That the customs having formerly been given to the King for the maintenance of the fleet, that such a clause to confirm it should be inserted in this bill, or a particular bill prepared for it.

Mr. Waller, the poet, an old Parliament man, said this was the most necessary thing that could be, for the riches and strength of all countries are proportionate to their trade; therefore trade must both enrich the country and maintain itself; therefore the customs must defray the fleet, for if it be done by land as much goes out of the kingdom that way as trade brings in, and so the nation would soon be ruined.

The condition of the fleet, as it was at that time given in by the officers of the navy to the House, was eight first rates, nine second rates, and forty-three third rates. The French had at this time twenty-six more of these rates than we, and the Dutch had fourteen.

Several grievances were complained of in the House this session, which were reduced to three heads:—

1. As to religion; as simony, plurality of livings, suffering conventicles, debauchery.
2. In trade.
3. In civil government.

It was voted that the atheism, debauchery, and impiety practised in this age be inserted as one grievance; and it being notoriously suspected that some members of that House did receive rewards from Court to give their votes as was desired on that side, it was voted that a committee should be appointed to form a kind of oath or test, to dis-

cover what sums of money or offices had been given to Parliament men to gain their votes.

The French trade was then complained of, as outbalancing ours 1,300,000*l.* per annum. It appeared, upon debate of the money to be given to the King, that every 1,000*l.* a year had paid 100*l.* since the Restoration in taxes to the Crown.

It was voted another grievance that the justices of the peace should be summoned to appear before the Council, there to give an account of what they did judicially.

Nov. 8. The business of Luzance took up some time in the House. This Luzance was a French Jesuit, lately converted to the Church of England, who made his recantation sermon in the French Protestant Church in the Savoy, where he very much laid open the fallacies of the Roman Church, and reflected upon them. The whole party being very angry at him for it, one Dr. Burnet, a Jesuit and confessor to the Duchess of York, finding him alone in his chamber (with three more that stood at the door), threatened to kill him, except he would promise to return to the Church of Rome, and presently recant his sermon preached at the Savoy under his hand, and go speedily for France. Finding himself in this pinch, he engaged to do all this, till he got his liberty; and then presently went and revealed it to Doctor Breval, a converted Jesuit, who the next day acquainted me with it, and I told it the House. The Commons took the matter with great warmth, appointed a committee to examine the matter, and me to bring Luzance before it the next day; where he appeared, and testified the whole thing to be true. This was the first time that I presumed to speak in that great assembly, or in any committee; where the next day I was obliged to do it often in this matter.

Upon the report from the committee to the House, my Lord Cavendish called me up to give an account to the House of some other things which Luzance had

acquainted me with. One was that two French Protestants had been threatened—being merchants of good ability and credit—by some Papists, that except they were less severe against Romanists, they should shortly see the Protestant blood flow in London streets. The House, upon this information by me, appointed a committee to enquire into the truth of it; to which Luzance, being summoned to appear, testified the truth to the committee, and gave the words under his own hand to the committee. The parties that told him then being sent for, also appeared, and deposed that those threats had been used to them by some French Papists; but (whether gained by that party, or in fear of them) gave in only such names as were persons either absent or of small repute, so that little light appeared by it. But this and other such informations concerning the height and boldness of the Papists did so exasperate the House, that many motions were made to reduce them. Some were for a speedy confinement of them to the country, others for banishment, and some again for disarming them, &c.

Hearing of a quarrel between my Lord Cavendish and Colonel Thomas Howard, the first a member of our House, the other brother of the Earl of Carlisle, a Papist; and that the colonel had spread abroad a letter or libel reflecting upon his lordship, and Sir Thomas Meres, another member of that House, I acquainted the House with it, and moved that care might be taken to prevent the further consequences of this quarrel. The House took care of my Lord Cavendish (who was very brave) in this matter, but not of Sir Thomas Meres, not fearing that his courage would draw him into much danger. I moved upon this that the same engagement might be taken from Sir Thomas that was from my lord not to stir further therein; which Sir Thomas took so kindly, he being of the committee of elections, that I made him my friend by it ever after.

Soon after the matter of Doctor Sherley's petitioning the Lords against Sir John Fagg was again renewed, which had broke up the Parliament the last time. Some thought the King had consented to it, not liking the warm proceedings of both Houses; others that some lords of the country interest had persuaded Sherley to it, whereby to blow up the difference concerning privilege between the two Houses, that the King should be obliged either to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve them, they fearing that if this Parliament should sit much longer the great part might be so gained by money or places as to do whatever the Court desired of them; and my Lord Halifax (then in the interest of my Lord Shaftesbury, his uncle, who was fallen out with the Court, being no longer Lord Chancellor) told me that was his opinion.

Whatever the cause was, the effect was that the Commons, denying that their member should plead at the bar of the Lords during a time of privilege, it was voted (November 18) that the Lords, by receiving any appeal from any court either of law or equity against a member of the Lower House, during a session of Parliament, were thereby infringers of the privileges of the Commons of England; and that such lawyers as did attend as counsel to plead in any such cause at the Lords' bar should be deemed betrayers of the rights of the Commons of England, and proceeded against accordingly; and that the said vote should be affixed on the doors of the House of Commons, of Westminster Hall, and of the Inns of Court, which was done accordingly. The same day it was voted by the Lords that the said vote was illegal and unparliamentary, and tending to the dissolution of the Government; and, further, that they would never recede from their right of judicature by appeals from courts of equity.

It was then put to the question if the King should not be petitioned to dissolve this Parliament. This was carried in the negative by two voices only. The proceedings

of both Houses did extremely dissatisfy the King. The Lords who had given their votes for dissolving the Parliament protested against the negative vote, and did enter their reasons for so doing in the journals. Things going thus, the only expedient was to dismiss the Parliament, which the King did by proroguing it to the 10th of February next.

Before I left London, at the interposition of my Lord Ogle, I went with his lordship to see the Duke of Buckingham, knowing before that he would receive me kindly.

Dec. 1.—I set out for Thrybergh, where I found my family well. I kept a great Christmas that year. There dined with me on New Year's Day 300 people at the least.

1676.

At the Lent assizes at York I communicated a letter, which my Lord Treasurer had directed to me to that intent, to the justices of the peace of the West Riding. The occasion of it was this:—

Hallamshire, a corner of the West Riding extending five miles round from Sheffield, is a corporation of cutlers by Act of Parliament, where the manufacture of making edge-tools is carried on by several furnaces or blowing-houses, where the iron and steel is heated and prepared for the making of knives and scissors, &c. The receivers of hearth-money had levied this duty upon the poor smiths for these furnaces or forges; and the corporation of cutlers had spent near 200*l.* in law with the King to try the right of this matter, conceiving they were not liable to pay by Act of Parliament, without bringing it to any certain issue. They then came and complained to me as the next justice of the peace of this oppression, and desired my opinion of it. Upon weighing the matter, I told them that those furnaces or forges came within the

quality of blowing-houses, which were literally exempted by the statutes of hearth-money, and were therefore not liable to pay; and did further (the officers being come to make distresses) grant my order for re-delivery of such distresses, and persuaded some neighbouring justices to join with me in it. Till this time the justices of the peace had refused to appear in this matter, which had obliged the corporation to spend so much money at common law. The collectors obeyed our order, but complained above of me for obstructing his Majesty's revenue, and of Sir Godfrey Copley. Upon this account it was that my Lord Treasurer had written the said letter purporting that upon good advice with the King's Council the said hearths appeared liable to pay the said duty; that the order granted for the re-delivery of the distresses was illegal; with advice not to be too forward or busy in obstructing the King's revenue.

This letter being communicated to the justices of the peace of the county at the assizes, where we were about forty together, it was unanimously agreed upon (considering the said Acts) that such sort of forges ought not to pay, and that the order granted by me, &c., was legal, and subscribed a letter to his lordship under all their hands to the same purpose. My Lord Treasurer answered that letter soon after, directing his answer to my Lord Fairfax, who communicated it at another meeting to the justices at York; but that letter had also the same effect, and the justices persisted in the same opinion as before, notwithstanding that my Lord Chief Justice North and Baron Bertie, who came down judges that assize, endeavoured to dissuade us from it. I did not please at Court by this proceeding, but whatever I lost there I gained in my country.

Some three years before, being sued by the Duke of Norfolk for my carrier's coming into Rotherham to fetch grist to Ickles mill, I had a verdict at York; the year

after his grace brought it about again, and got a verdict against me; and this summer, it being tried the third time, the verdict was this, that such persons as were tenants to the duke, or the manor, ought to grind at the lord's mill; that such of the inhabitants as were not (as several of them were) had right to grind where they pleased. My Lord Chief Justice North seemed very partial to the duke in the hearing of this cause; however, he could not gain the point contended for, which was to have Rotherham an entire soke, where no carriers ought to come in to fetch corn but the lord's. My competitor, Mr. Benson, who had greatly ingratiated himself with my Lord High Treasurer under pretence to find out extraordinary ways, by concealments, fines, and forfeitures, &c., to get the King's money (and none more able than himself, being very arch and notable and understanding the pleas of the Crown), had obtained the promise of a patent, to pass under the great seal, to be an assistant to my Lord Treasurer, by way of discovery, &c., for the improvement of his Majesty's revenue; as also to be made a judge. But one day, as he was returning from his lordship's to his own chamber in Gray's Inn, it pleased God to dispose of him otherwise; for as he was going up the stairs to the passage at the end of the hall, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and so died without speaking one word.[1]

[1] Oliver Heywood, the eminent Yorkshire Nonconformist, who lived at this time, thus refers to Benson in one of his note-books (see Birch MSS. 4460, in the British Museum):—'Mr. Benson, of Red Hall, near Wakefield, clerk of assize for Yorkshire, justice of peace, a thriving man, went to London, obtained a place worth 2,000*l.* per annum, under Sir Thomas Osborne, Lord Treasurer. Having been with his master, and going to his lodging, as he stepped out of the coach, was very sick, and presently after breathed his last. He hath left 3,000*l.* per annum in land, 120,000*l.* in money. It is suspected he was poisoned by envious courtiers, who had a mind of the profitable place: it is said that that place of sub-treasurer might have been improved to 10,000*l.* per annum.' Benson's son was made Lord Bingley.

And because the way of living and conversation amongst one's neighbours at this time may sometimes divert those that come after to be informed of it, take here a particular of such gentlemen as came and stayed at my house this summer, some two or three nights, some four or five:—Sir Scrope Howe and his brother; my uncle Yarburgh and his wife; my uncle Yarburgh of Doncaster, his wife and children; my aunt Viscountess Monson, her husband (being married the fourth time to Adam Felton, Esq.), with her daughter by Monson, came from Suffolk, and stayed here a month; my second brother, lieutenant in the Guards, and my third brother, merchant, lately arrived in England, stayed here a month; Mr. Moyser, my stepfather, once alone; a second time he came and stayed with my Lord Clifford; Sir Thomas Yarburgh and his lady; my Lady Downe, wife to my Lord Downe; Mr. Blythman and his wife; Mr. Edmonds, both justices of the peace; my Lord Darcy (not long before married to the Countess of Southampton) and his lady; Anthony Francland of Aldwarke, Esq., cousin-german to my wife; my Lord Ogle, since Duke of Newcastle, and Mrs. Fane, of Raby Castle, but they only dined; the High Sheriff and his lady; with more too tedious to mention.

I had a fine Moor about sixteen years of age—given to me by a gentleman, one Mr. Drax, who had brought him out of the Barbadoes—that had lived with me some years, and died about this time of an imposthume in his head. I received an account in October (six weeks after he was buried) from London, that it was credibly reported there that I had caused him to suffer an operation, which had occasioned his death. I laughed at it at the first, knowing it to be false, as a ridiculous story, till I was further informed that this came from the Duke of Norfolk and his family, with whom, as I have said before, I had had some suit and differences, and that he had waited upon the King to beg my estate in case it proved

forfeited by this felony. I then thought it convenient to send for the coroner to view the body by a jury before the body was too much decayed. The coroner summoned a jury, and did his office; and upon the examination of eleven witnesses (some that laid him out, the rest that saw him naked, several because of his colour, having the curiosity to see him after he was dead), gave in their verdict, that he died *ex visitatione Dei* (or by the hand of God).

This would not serve; for within few days after there came one Bright, a lawyer, one Chappell, an attorney (both concerned in the Duke's affairs), and one Buck, a chirurgeon, of Sheffield (whom I had caused to be prosecuted not long before for having two wives), with some others, with my Lord Chief Justice's warrant, directed to the coroner to take up the body; who refused to execute it, saying he had done his office already.

This was a black and yet a ridiculous malice, for had the thing proved to have been done, all their art could never have fixed it so as to have brought either me or my estate into danger. My Lord Chief Justice Rainsford granted this warrant illegally, information of the fact not being given upon oath. He confessed to me afterwards he was misled in the thing, and that the duke's solicitor was very urgent with him to grant that warrant. The Duke of York told my brother Edmond that he wondered to hear so much discourse of the truth of the thing, which he always did believe to be false. My Lord Ogle told me (and so did my Lord Treasurer afterwards himself) that he, meaning my Lord Treasurer, had taken great pains to prevent the begging of my estate with the King, and I believed it to be true; but I fear it was with design, had it proved a forfeiture, to have begged it himself (for some told me so afterwards). However, I endeavoured to find the bottom of this matter, and to be repaired in some measure, as you will read hereafter.

November. The decree in the Exchequer this term confirmed the verdict at the assizes upon the trial 'twixt my Lord Marshal and me about our mills, and that court ordered my lord to pay me 20*l.* costs.

1677.

February. I went to London well guarded for fear of some of my back friends and highwaymen, having caused one of the chief of them to be taken not long before.

I no sooner arrived in London but my Lord Treasurer sent to speak to me. I went to his lordship, and found him very free in his discourse upon several subjects, but most lamenting that his countrymen would not give him opportunity to serve them near the King; made several protestations that the jealousies of such as called themselves of the country party were groundless; that the King to his knowledge had no design but to preserve the religion and government as established by law; and wished that neither himself nor posterity might prosper if he did not speak his belief; that if there was any danger to the Government, it was more from those that pretended to be zealous for it, who, under that colour, were straining matters to so high a pitch on that side, by pinching the Crown in supplies and in the prerogatives, as to create discontents between the King and his people; that confusion might be the issue, and therefore desired me to be careful not to embark with that sort of people. I replied that I hoped I was not one to suffer myself to be misled; I should have no other guide in that House but my reason and conscience, and therefore could not follow any faction or party; that as much as I yet understood of the duty of a member there at this time, it was to be moderate and healing between the two extremes, and to have due regard to the King's prerogative as well as the liberty of the subject.

It is very true that till that time, when my Lord Treasurer used so many asseverations of the King's intention of continuing to govern by law, and made it pretty clear to me that some of the chief of the country faction were driving on their particular interest under colour of the public good, I had much more belief of their truth and sincerity.

The Parliament met on the 15th. That which the King did chiefly desire of us this session was a convenient sum for the building and rigging the ships. The country party obstructed all they could the giving above 400,000*l.*; the Court party were for a million, or 800,000*l.* at the least; the moderate men were for 600,000*l.*, which sum was granted, and for which sum I gave my vote, for the rebuilding of thirty men of war of several rates.

My Lord Treasurer took this so well that I went not to the height with those men that did all they could to weaken the Crown, that he would needs carry me to kiss his Majesty's hand (which ceremony I had not then performed since my arrival in town). He presented me to him in the lobby of the House of Lords, next to the princes' lodgings, there being nobody present but the King, his lordship, and myself. My lord told the King a great many good things of me more than I deserved, but last that as my family had been loyal, he knew my disposition was to follow the steps of it; and the best way to be confirmed in that was to understand how little truth there was in the pretences now set on foot to withdraw gentlemen from their duty in this particular. The King said he had known me long, and hoped I knew him so well that I should not believe those reports of him. I know, says he, it is said I intend the subversion of the religion and government; that I intend to govern by the army and by arbitrary power, to lay aside Parliaments, and to raise money by other ways. But every man (nay those that say it the most) knows it is false. There is no

subject that lives under me, whose safety and well doing I desire less than my own, and should be as sorry to invade his property and liberty as that another should invade mine. Those members, said the King, that pretend this great zeal for the public good, are of two kinds, either such as would subvert the government themselves, and bring it to a commonwealth again; or such as seem to join with that party and talk loud against the Court, hoping to have their mouths stopped by places or preferments. Indeed, my Lord Treasurer had named some of the heads of that party to me, who had desired such and such things of the King, and would have come over upon those terms.

I replied that it was true the pretences were many, and plausible I believe to some, that those people made to oppose it, which others understood to be his Majesty's interest; but it had gained little upon me, who had the honour of being so long known to his Majesty, and had been so lately confirmed in my belief by those assurances received from my Lord Treasurer; that I should never to the best of my knowledge do anything but what became a true and faithful subject, and what should be consistent with the prosperity of his Majesty's royal person and government. The King told me that he was very well pleased that he had seen me, commanded me to wait upon him sometimes, and said I should have access to him when and wherever I desired it.

This condescension in the King to give so mean a person this satisfaction did much convince me of the reality of what he said, joined with the temper and constitution too of the prince, who was not stirring, nor ambitious, but easy, loved pleasures, and seemed chiefly to desire quiet and security for his own time.

A great difference at that time being between the Lord Marshal of England, Lord Henry Howard (though commonly called the Duke of Norfolk) and his younger

brothers, the brothers came and petitioned the House of Commons, setting forth the injustice done them by my Lord Marshal, and not only them, but to their eldest brother, the Duke of Norfolk, whom the said Lord Marshal kept up at Padua as a madman, though very well in his senses, and therefore desired that the House would please to move the King that the Lord Marshal might be obliged to send for him into England. Upon this there began a debate in the House of the condition of the said duke, and many did argue as they did believe that he was in a good condition of health, and was only kept there by his brother to enjoy his estate. Whereupon the gentlemen of the House, that had been abroad in that part, were desired to declare their opinions in what conditions they had seen him; and myself amongst others did say what I knew of him at the time that I saw him there, which was, to the best of my observation, that he had all the marks imaginable of lunacy and distraction upon him. This it seems being told my Lord Marshal, who knew very well that I had no obligation from him to say anything that might turn so much to his advantage as this did, sent a gentleman to me, one Mr. Anslowe, the next day, to thank me for acting so generously in the concern of a person that had not appeared my friend so much as he ought to have done, and yet he had not appeared against me in many particulars where I was jealous of him, and particularly in that of the blackamoor; and that he intended to wait upon me to satisfy me further of it.

I answered that I was surprised with this compliment from a gentleman to whom I intended none, what I said being only in regard to truth; however I was not sorry that it had so happened that I had obliged my lord by it; and since he declared he was not concerned in that black affair of the Moor, I would prevent his lordship, and wait upon him. Within two or three days I went to see him. He received me with all the expressions of

kindness imaginable, and wished that neither himself nor posterity might prosper if he was any way consenting or assisting against me in that matter. I told his lordship that I was obliged to believe him because he said so, but if he was not, I was sure his servants were, and desired his leave that I might use my endeavours to find it out. He said, with all his heart he did not only agree to it, but would help me in it; and so we parted in great friendship. His lordship came to see me soon after. I was not sorry for this unexpected effect of the thing; for though a man must not do mean things to make great men his friends (because they have a great deal of power), yet it is a folly to omit such an opportunity of being reconciled to them. It is not wise to have a poor man one's enemy, if it can be helped, much more a rich.

The House of Commons, however, moved his Majesty by the privy councillors who were members of that House to send for the Duke of Norfolk, but he took no notice of the petition.

I very often visited and dined with my Lord Treasurer, and often waited upon the King, who when he saw me would ask me what passed.

March 18. I entertained him a great while, in the Duchess of York's bed-chamber, upon the transactions of that day in the House of Commons.

The business of this session had gone on pretty coolly in both Houses, and my Lord Treasurer did so order the matter that the King's party increased rather than the other, but it was much feared that some votes were gained more by purchase than affection.

March 29. The Commons voted a second address to be made to the King, that he would please to make alliances for the preservation of Flanders in the possession of the King of Spain; but with this limitation, that the King should not be obliged to return any answer to the House upon that address; and yet a great many that

would have drawn the King into inconveniences would have had the King urged to declare his intentions therein, which must have been either to disoblige the nation on one hand, or to declare war with France on the other, before he was prepared to make it.

The same time I had a great deal of discourse privately with my Lord Treasurer in his own chamber. He there showed me several letters (with their answers) which he had written to Mr. Wentworth and others not to disturb me in my election, which was yet endeavoured on behalf of the town, though Benson was dead.

A box on the ear was given that day in the House of Commons; but the occasion being accidental, after some debate it was thus ended, that both the gentlemen engaged themselves to the Speaker that nothing more should be done in it.

March 30. I entertained the King in the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber, with the Marquis of Worcester.

April 12. The King and the Duke had both of them interested themselves so far in the matter of my election, that it being to be tried very soon (being at the King's rising that day), the King gave order to his servants that were members to attend the committee, and to assist me when it came on. The same day the Duke of Albemarle came down to engage his friends to be for me. The Duke of York concerned himself very earnestly for me.

Being alone with my Lord Treasurer in his coach going to Westminster, I told him that some of the discontented party did resolve to hasten the money bill as fast as they could, that so the Parliament might rise before Easter, and the public bills, that were preparing, might be left unpassed; hoping by this to dissatisfy the nation, and to afford cause of complaint against the King, as if the Parliament met for nothing but to give money. His lordship said that the King was aware of that, but had prevented it by a message, intended that day to be

delivered by Secretary Coventry to the House, to this effect, that if anything remained to be done which that House did judge necessary for the good of the nation, the King would give them time to finish it after Easter, and when they were ready he would pass their bills; which was said accordingly.

My Lord Treasurer sent for me among others that evening, and desired us to assist what we could to reconcile a difference likely to happen between the two Houses, about framing the bill for the six hundred thousand pounds to be given the King, which might endanger the loss of the bill. The thing was this—the Commons had made a clause in the bill that the officers of the Exchequer should give an account to that House of the laying out of the money to the uses to which it was given; the Lords had added another clause, which was that those officers should be accountable to both Houses. The Commons would not allow of this, saying the Lords could neither add to nor diminish in bills for money; as it was peculiar to the Commons to give money, so it was only proper to them to have the account of its laying forth. The Lords replied that to deny them to call the officers of the Exchequer to an account was to deny them their privilege of judicature which they had as the Supreme Court; and were possessed of it in the very like case, for when money was given by the convention for disbanding the army, an account of the laying it out was there enacted to be given to their House as well as the other. In fine, both adhering to their point, the King prevailed with the Lords to erase their clause out of the bill, and the other continuing, it passed after in that method; so the Commons got the better.

April 19. My Lord Treasurer and the Duke of Newcastle went to Windsor to be installed Knights of the Garter. I waited upon them, supped that night with the duke, and dined the day after with the Countess of

Danby, my lord's own table being filled with the knights assisting at that ceremony; amongst whom were the Duke of Lauderdale, the Duke of Albemarle, the Earls of Oxford and Mulgrave, &c. This ceremony was more solemn and splendid than usual by reason of the number of coaches that attended my Lord Treasurer, being forty-six, with six horses apiece.

The King of France had not long before got a victory over the Prince of Orange, and in his return by Calais sent over the Duke of Crequi, and the Archbishop of Rheims, to compliment our King, who returned it by sending over my Lord Sunderland to the French King. This gave just cause to think that there would be no war between the two Kings, as the Parliament had advised. I saw a copy of the letter from the French King brought by the Duke of Crequi to ours, which began with this style or title :—

'*Très haut, très excellent et très puissant Prince, très cher, très aimé bon frère cousin et allié.*'

The truth is the King of England's neutrality, or looking on, very well deserved these and greater compliments from France at that time.

May 6. The postmaster of Doncaster having disobliged me (one Hunt), I endeavoured to put him out, but finding greater opposition than I expected from the Bishop of Durham, the Duke of Lauderdale, and several other persons of quality that used to lie at his house, I could not effect it; till, speaking twice myself to the Duke of York, he granted my request, and gave it to the quarter-master of my militia troop that kept an inn there.

May 8. The poor smiths of Hallamshire sent me up a letter and petition, setting forth that the officers for collecting that duty had made new distresses upon them for smith's forges. I went and so represented the poverty of that sort of people to my Lord Treasurer, the illegality of it according to the intention of the statute, and the cer-

tain difference it would create between the King's officers and the justices of the peace, that he ordered his secretary to write to the collectors not to proceed to distrain for such hearths till the explanatory bill did pass (there being a bill before the Commons at the rising of the Parliament for the explaining of that, and some other obscure parts of the Chimney Acts), but no such bill did ever pass; so that all the said clauses have since been interpreted in favour of the King's revenue. My Lord of Ormond and my Lord Treasurer had not been very good friends; the King, however, had pieced them upon condition they should not impeach each other without acquainting one another first with the matter. My Lord of Ormond first broke his word, and informed the King that my Lord Treasurer had cheated him in the excise. My Lord Ormond said the Treasurer had first complained of him to hinder his going for Ireland (where he was Lord-Lieutenant before). This came to a great heat at Court; but the King who loved quiet though he paid for it, believed neither of their complaints, and made them again friends, so my lord was sent into Ireland with his former dignity.

May 11. I was in private with my Lord Treasurer in his chamber till after one o'clock at night, where he told me several matters. I obtained some favours of him at that time: one was a further security to the smiths of Hallamshire not to be troubled as formerly; a pardon for a highwayman condemned to be executed, upon promise to discover his accomplices, but who being saved, soon fell to his old kind of life and was afterwards hanged. Another was a promise of 10*l.* to any who should catch a robber on the highway, which was afterwards published by proclamation. I complained to him of the injustice done me in that foolish story that was raised concerning the blackamoor and, of the King's being ready to grant my estate. He said he did not believe the King had

given it, for that he had desired the King not to be too hasty in that particular, believing it was a lie; but was of opinion with me, that it was a fit occasion to ask something of the King by way of reparation, and that he would assist me therein. His lordship was then so free as to tell me that though the King denied almost nothing to the Duke, his brother, yet he did not really love him.

He told me then that the King had no mind to fall out with France; but if the Parliament would engage him in that war, their best way would be to give him a good sum to make preparations for it, which could not be less than six hundred thousand pounds. By this means, if the King took it, he would be obliged to go on with the war. If the Parliament refused to trust him, he had a good reason not to embark himself in it, for then the King might argue, 'How may I confide in my Parliament to give me money to carry me through the war, that will not sufficiently supply me to make preparations for it?' But I easily discovered that these were artifices to get money.

He said further that the King in honour ought not to join with the confederates against France; that in all the treaties of peace the King of England was named as the principal in that war; that he did actually join with France in the beginning, and went off contrary to his promise, and now to turn his arms against France would not look well nor just to the world. His lordship told me this was the King's own argument upon their discoursing of the war between themselves, and that he had made the King this answer, that his Majesty should not regard that so much, for the French King played him the same trick when Chancellor Hyde was chief minister. The King answered that was because he had a prejudice to the Chancellor. The Lord Treasurer replied, whatever was the cause the thing was done.

He was so free as to tell me further that the Duke

was the chief carrier-on of the French interest; that he now made it his business to court the sectaries and fanatics, hoping thereby to strengthen the popish interest; that his Highness was so bigoted in that religion that when the Archbishop of Rheims was here, went into our churches and kneeled during the time of divine service, the Duke would not be persuaded so much as to come into the door. He said the Duke was unhappy in servants that had not much sense, but that his confessor was a notable man and had great interest with him; but that he as well as his master was against a French war. But his lordship declared himself for it.

May 12. I went to visit the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale at their fine house at Ham. After dinner the duchess in her chamber entertained me with a long discourse on matters of State. She had been a beautiful woman and the supposed mistress of Oliver Cromwell, and was then a woman of great parts. She and her duke, that was much governed by her, were entirely in my Lord Treasurer's interest. She chiefly complained of the Duke's adhering to Papists and fanatics, and of his putting the King upon the change of lord deputies of Ireland so often to promote the popish interest, and gave me several instances to prove it that I had not heard; and she gave me also the whole scheme of the state of Scotland at that day, which, her husband being Lord Commissioner, she had good reason to understand. But the Scots, being a mercenary people, when the Duke was sent afterwards into that kingdom, whatever was there before was then changed into another thing.

The day after I went and asked Mr. Secretary Williamson if there was any entry made in his office concerning the begging of my estate. He told me he durst only own it to me in private, but it was true that upon some rumour of a forfeiture of it by some act of mine, Mr. Felton, of the bed-chamber, younger brother to him that had married

my aunt Monson, had begged it of the King, and entered a caveat thereof at his office.

May 19. I obtained of my Lord Treasurer to carry me to the King, where I begged two things of him—one was that he would please to order Mr. Secretary Williamson to erase a caveat which had been entered with him, upon his Majesty's granting my estate to Mr. Felton, reputed to be forfeited upon the rumour of the death of the Moor; and, 2ndly, that he would please to lay his commands upon my Lord Chief Justice Rainsford to discover to me at whose solicitation, or upon what suggestion it was, that his lordship granted out the warrant to the coroner to take up the body six weeks after it was buried.

As to the first, the King said he did not remember the giving my estate to any person, but if any such caveat was entered he should have order to put it out. For the second, he directed my Lord Treasurer to send one with me to my Lord Rainsford for him to do what I desired, which he did the day after by his secretary; and when we came to my Lord Chief Justice, he told me the whole matter and begged my excuse for having been so very forward in that matter—as indeed he had reason, having done more than he could justify—for he had granted his warrant upon a bare suggestion of the Moor's dying by such an act, without taking any information either in writing or upon oath.

May 21. The Parliament met at Westminster, according to adjournment. The King, speaking to both Houses, acquainted them that he could not make such alliances as they desired without they would first give him money to make preparations for war. The Commons, upon the debate concerning the King's speech, would not consent to give money, but voted the contrary, till his Majesty had first entered into alliance; and at the same time that an address should be humbly made to him to enter into

a league offensive and defensive with Holland, and the rest of the United Provinces, for the safety of these kingdoms, for the recovery of Flanders, and to abate the power of the French King.

May 28. The said address being presented to the King, he returned this answer to it: that we had exceeded the methods of Parliament in that address, that we had entrenched on his prerogative by not only directing him to make alliances, but by pointing out to him what those alliances should be, and with whom they should be made; that the power of making peace or war only belonged to him, and if that was taken from him he should only have the name of a King, and then what States or princes would treat with him? For which reasons, as well as want of money, he should not comply with their address. However, he should do that which became him for the good of his kingdom, and order the Parliament to be adjourned till the 16th of July following.

The Speaker (who was Mr. Seymour) returned to the House, and had adjourned the House, but without putting the question, by the King's order or command. This, as was moved, being without precedent, did so discompose the House that some were offering to hold the Speaker in the chair, but he leaped from it very nimbly; for he was in fear that many being dissatisfied with his Majesty's speech would have made some mutinous speeches before he could adjourn, and with good reason. I was one of those that thought the Commons outwent their due limits in wording their address, in naming the countries with which he was to make his alliances, and the manner of them—viz., offensive and defensive; for, besides the indecencies of it, the Secretaries of State then in the House told us the thing would be granted if we did not lose it in the manner of asking it. Indeed the nation did much desire a war with France, and the King it is thought might have been gained to it if the Duke had not been so averse to it.

Following the Duke down the gallery to his closet in Whitehall, I went up to him to thank his highness for the favour he had granted me. He said that he was lately informed that I had said in company that as for my Lord Treasurer I knew that he was for making alliances with Holland and the Netherlands for the war against France, but the Duke did much oppose it. I replied whoever informed his highness so had not spoken the truth; that I might possibly say in discourse upon that subject that my Lord Treasurer was for a war with France, but that I should undertake to say that his highness was either for it or against it was a presumption I could never be guilty of. If I knew not my duty, good manners would make me careful of naming him in any concern of so high a nature, and humbly desired that he would please to tell me who was his informer. By this time his highness was arrived to his closet door, where he stopped: 'Do not trouble yourself, for I never believed it; but must not tell you my author. However, it is sometimes fitting to tell men what we hear, that the truth may the better be discovered.'

June 2. Being with my Lord Treasurer, he told me the excise would be let to farm, and if I thought it would be any advantage to me I might be concerned in it. I thanked his lordship, and said I would consider of it; but the truth was, though great estates had been gotten by farming that and other branches of the King's revenue, yet I never intended to interest myself in it, for no man was beloved in his country that did; and being a justice of the peace, and having often punished those concerned in the collecting of that duty for transgressing the law in the method of it, I thought I should be censured if I should then make myself of that number.

About this time I had fresh complaints from the smiths of Hallamshire of new demands of hearth-money for their forges. Upon my representing it again to my

Lord Treasurer, and laying the small profit it would bring in to the King, and the great poverty of those smiths, he confirmed his order to the farmers and officers not to disturb those people any more in that particular; by which means they were at quiet a long while after, though those sort of smiths paid for their forges in all other parts of England; and my lord mayor of York and two justices of the peace of Nottingham were sent for up before the King and Council for maintaining that such forges ought not to pay, where his lordship received pardon for recanting his opinion, but the two justices were put out of commission.

I heard that my Lord Yarmouth was one of those that had begged my estate upon the story of the Moor, and that he was come to town. I presently went to find him at his own house, where I had some difficulty to be admitted, for I had never seen him, and asked him the question if it was true, saying that I had reason to believe that those that were so forward to beg my estate had been as busy to make the story. He forswore very bitterly that he had never asked it of the King, or knew anything of it, further than that one Wright, solicitor to the Lord Henry Howard, did come and tell him there was likely to be such a forfeiture, and advised him to use his interest with the King for it, but that he did absolutely deny to hearken to it, saying that he would not be richer for the misfortunes of others; that it was he believed malice against me, and that he would serve me all he could to find out the authors of it. I made him give it under his hand that he was no party to the begging of my estate, or otherwise interesting himself in that matter.

The same day I found out Mr. Wright, and threatened to bring my action of scandal against him, upon the information I had from my Lord Yarmouth, except he would tell me the whole intrigue of it. He did ingenuously confess that both Bright and Chappell before

mentioned had given him an account of the Moor's death by that means, with all assurance of the truth of it; and that he, telling my Lord Henry Howard, his lordship sent him to my Lord Yarmouth to ask of the King my estate, which he had begged accordingly. I was very much surprised to hear two noblemen make their honour so cheap as to deny with oaths and asseverations what was true; but I considered that stirring further in it would but make more noise of so foolish a story in the world, and that it ought to be sufficient to me that, as a sign of their shame and repentance, they had both of them given themselves the lie.

CHAPTER VI.

Yorkshire Matters—Reresby dines with the Cutlers at Sheffield—Meets with an Accident—Barnsley and Leeds Sessions—In London again—Alliance with the Prince of Orange—Warm Debates in the House—Desire for a War with France—Sir John's Seat again threatened—Sir William Wentworth of Wakefield—Sir Godfrey Copley and his Son—French Successes—Ill Counsellors—Conversations with Charles and the Duke—The Governorship of Burlington—Charges against the Duke and Danby—A Quarrel at the King's Play-house—Wentworth's designing Conduct—Royal Influence used for Reresby—Anecdotes of the King and the Duke—Foreign Affairs—The Commons' Opposition to the King's Advisers—Prorogation—The Peace with France—Sir Solomon Swaile—Wentworth's Folly—How Elections were managed—York Assizes—Improvements at Burlington—The Popish Plot—The King's Speech to Parliament—Debates and Examinations in the House on the Plot—The King's disbelief of it—Coleman's Letters—The Duke of York and the Test Act—Montagu's charges against Danby—Incensement of the Commons—Danby's Defence—Articles against him—His Impeachment—Opposition of the Lords—Parliament dissolved—Canvassing at Aldborough—Reresby again returned.

June 13. Having taken leave of the King and Duke, I returned to Thrybergh. As soon as I arrived, the corporation of cutlers sent their master and officers to thank me for the good offices I had done them at London with my Lord Treasurer, and would have made me a handsome present, but I refused to accept of it.

About the beginning of July, my lord Duke of Newcastle—the old duke being dead—sent to desire me to accompany him into Staffordshire, where he was to see his estate, which I promised some days after.

July 10. I attended the sessions at Rotherham, and went soon after to meet some other deputy-lieutenants to settle the militia at York.

August 13. The Earl of Burlington, lord-lieutenant

West Riding, came and lay at Thrybergh one

August 25. I went to dine at Sheffield at the Cutlers' feast, being invited by the corporation, where I was received by the Master and his assistants in the street with loud music, the shouts of the rabble, and with ringing of bells; and, being after conducted into the Town Hall, was entertained with a very good dinner and great plenty of wine.

August 27. I met the Duke of Newcastle at Chesterfield, and accompanied him as far as the High Peak in Derbyshire; where, talking to the duke, and the way being very strait, my horse was forced to go upon a slippery stone; so that all his legs flying at once from under him, he fell flat upon my right leg and put my knee out of joint. The duke leaped from his horse, and helped to carry me into a little ale-house hard by, where I prevailed with him to leave me with my servants, and two of his gentlemen, who all went several ways to find a bone-setter. At the last they found four that pretended to be versed in that art, but so little understood it, that they put me to a great deal of pain to no purpose, for they set my knee wrong (as it proved afterwards). After three days' lying in much pain, I ventured home in the Earl of Rutland's horse-litter, which I borrowed; and at Thrybergh I sent for another bone-setter, who put me to as much pain as the former, with as little success. Yet soon after I found one Middleton, who, by God's mercy, did reduce it indifferently well, though not perfectly, the cap of the knee being broken. This was a great affliction to me, the other knee having been disjointed when very young, and never well reduced; but it was the will of heaven, and I deserved it for my sins. However, by God's mercy I had very good use of both after all this.

I lay seven weeks by this accident, during which time I was visited and enquired after by all my neighbours,

especially the Duke of Newcastle, who came with my Lord Ogle to see me three days after my return.

October 19. I was so well that I went on horseback to Barnsley sessions, and soon after to Leeds, where my Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Goodricke, Sir John Kaye, and myself, settled the militia of that division. I was there particularly invited by the mayor and his brethren, for some services done that corporation a little before with the judges, concerning their being excused to serve upon juries at assizes or sessions out of their own limits.

At this time was the marriage agreed on between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, first daughter to his royal highness, which gave great content to the nation, and abated the fears of popery that she was married to a Protestant prince. My Lord Danby, lord treasurer, believed to be the adviser of this match, got a good reputation by it.

October 25. Much company came to my house; amongst others, my Lord Clifford and my Lord Castleton.

October 26. The Parliament that was to meet the 3rd of December was declared by proclamation intended to be prorogued to the 4th of April; but notwithstanding the said proclamation, the business of the nation so requiring it, the Parliament was appointed to meet the 15th of January, so that I set forward for London on the 4th, before I had ended Christmas, which I had kept with entertaining my neighbours and tenants, as I had done in other years.

1678.

January 10. I arrived there in company with Sir Henry Goodricke, in whose coach I went up; the day after, the Parliament being adjourned for fifteen days, I informed myself of affairs.

January 12. I dined with my Lord Treasurer, who

received me kindly; the next day I kissed the King's hand and the Duke's. His highness told me, among other things, that the reason of this short adjournment was because the King could not so fully acquaint both Houses with the cause of calling them at this time till he had a more perfect account of a treaty which was now framing with Spain; and after some other discourse of public concern, I gave him some assurances of duty and respect, desiring him not to harbour any thought of what he had formerly said he had been told I should discourse concerning him and my Lord Treasurer.

January 15. The Houses met, and were further adjourned to the 28th. Sir Solomon Swaile, my fellow burgess of Aldborough, being likely to be put out of the House for suspicion of being a papist, I gave my interest there to Sir Thomas Mauleverer to succeed him, he being recommended to me by my Lord Treasurer and others.

January 28. The Parliament met, and the King, in his speech to both Houses, said that he was entered into a strict alliance with the Prince of Orange and with the United Provinces to oppose the growth of the French king and the progress of his arms in Flanders, &c., and desired money to carry it on. The Commons voted thanks to the King, to be presented to him by way of an address, for the care he had expressed of the Protestant religion in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange; but that they could not give him any supply for that war, except his Majesty and his allies would engage not to lay down that war till the Pyrenean treaty was performed, and till that king was reduced to the condition as he then stood; for without this, neither this kingdom nor the rest of Christendom was safe.

January 30. The Commons voted the sum of seventy thousand pounds to be given for the royal interment of King Charles the Martyr, and for making a monument for him.

Supping that night with my Lord Treasurer, he said he fully intended to solicit the King to do something for me but had not yet found anything that was proper for me; but, if he really meant it, I knew he might have done it before then.

February 4. We had an answer from the King to our address, whereby he pressed the giving of money to carry on the war; and to invite us the more to it, made the House acquainted with what alliances he had made. This so wrought upon the House, that it being put to the question, it was carried by forty-two votes to assist his Majesty in that war, and to consider of the way to do it; but it being late, the debate was put off till the next morning.

February 5. Waiting on the Duke of York that morning, he spoke a good while to me concerning this matter; and being the night before with my Lord Treasurer, the scheme was laid how to proceed the next day. There had happened many warm debates as to this affair, and the reason of the great opposition it found was a desire in some to oppose the Crown, though in the very thing they wished for themselves (for this nation was always desirous of a war with France); and a jealousy in others, that the King intended to raise an army, but never designed to go on with the war; and truly some of the King's party were not sure of the contrary. Soon after, it was voted by the Commons to give money for the raising of twenty-six regiments of foot, four of horse and two of dragoons, with a navy of ninety men of war, for a war against France.

Upon this occasion of war, having notice that it might be possible to repair the fort at Burlington, I applied myself to my Lord Treasurer to get me the command of it, if it should be done; but he told me that would not be thought necessary, that coast lying more to Holland than France. Soon after I applied myself to the Duke

therein, who told me it might be of use, and that he would promote it for me all he could. Having told my Lord Treasurer what the Duke had promised, he also assured to speak for me to his highness and to assist to it.

The 23rd of March was appointed by the House for the hearing the cause of my election before the committee of privileges, and my Lord Treasurer promised to speak to Sir William Wentworth for me in that concern, which he did in the lobby of the Lords' House in my hearing; where like himself, he promised my lord very fair, but did nothing.[1]

The same day I told the King and Duke some things which had passed in the House of Commons, and the doubts that some had expressed there whether the ratification of the peace betwixt us and Holland was yet passed. The King said that the league offensive and defensive was signed by the States, so that they could not go back; but the ratification was not yet sealed, the several provinces having not yet confirmed the act of their deputies, and of the council of eight who had received it.

February 15. I dined with my Lord Treasurer, who said that he had a long discourse with the King and Duke on my affair at Burlington, and that he hoped it would succeed.

February 18. The business of giving an aid to the King came in debate in the House of Commons, where it was controverted, and many difficulties and mistrusts of the King started. Amongst others, I spoke and showed the necessity of a trust in this particular, and how impossible it was (though there might some ground appear for it) to recede at this time of the day.

February 18. I had the news the same day of the

[1] Wentworth was a nephew of the great Earl of Strafford. He lived at Northgate Head, or Haselden Hall, in Wakefield, his father having married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Savile, of that place.

death of Sir Godfrey Copley, Bart., of Sprotborough, high sheriff then of this county of York; a fine gentleman of good credit in his country, of excellent natural parts, and a good justice of the peace. His son wrote to me by an express to speak to my Lord Treasurer (who was his relation) to be continued in that office for the remaining part of the year. I was in the House when I received the letter, but went presently to Wallingford House and found his lordship was gone to Wimbledon. I was forced to stay to watch his return till ten at night, and prevailed with his lordship to go that night to the King, lest others should get in before us. We found the King at the end of the long gallery at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, and the King presently granted our request; and the next day the patent for the high sheriff was got out for the son, before it was known that the father was dead. For which trouble I had afterwards but a very indifferent return, as the sequel will manifest.

The same day the Commons voted the grant of one million to the King, to enable him to make war with the French King, for the preservation of Flanders.

February 19. The Duke of York told me that as to the government of Burlington I might depend upon it to be granted. Several gentlemen had regiments given them, as Sir Hen. Goodricke (whom I called brother from an entire friendship there was between us) and Sir Thomas Slingsby, both of this country; but I was every whit as well content with my government, the King by the Duke's means granting me a salary of 200*l.* per annum, and an independent company of one hundred men to reside in the garrison.

February 27. Came news that the French King had taken Ghent and Bruges, and that Ostend was besieged; whereupon the King caused sixteen hundred men to be presently drawn out of the Guards and his other forces here, and to be sent immediately to Ostend, under the

command of the Duke of Monmouth, amongst whom my brother Edmond, captain in the Guards, was one. This news of the French success gave a great alarm to Flanders, England and Holland. The same day the Commons upon this news grew very warm, and began to reflect on the King's ill councils, that had not advised him to this war sooner. They named no man, but it was very plain they pointed at the Duke of York and my Lord Treasurer.

February 28. Attending at the King's levée, the King told me and some other Parliament men then present that except the money voted to be given to levies was dispatched, it would come after the French King had done his work. His highness said that morning, too, that his friends would have a hard task upon them that day, for he was informed that some in the House resolved to renew the debate concerning ill counsellors. I said it was not very likely, for I was told the day before by a leader of the anti-Court party that it was not now a time to raise differences at home, when we were in war abroad; and it proved as I said.

March 2. The news came that Ghent and Bruges were not taken, as had been reported; and moreover that Monsieur de Ruvigny was coming, on the part of the French King, with offers of peace to our King. The Commons grew jealous that they would be accepted. However, our forces went forward on their march to Ostend.

The same day, waiting upon the King at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer being in consultation with his Majesty there about giving out of commissions, that affair being over, his highness before I could ask him if he had pleased to remember my business, informed me that order would be given for the drawing of my commission; my Lord Treasurer assured me of it at the same time.

March 4. The bill for raising money, by the way of poll, was perfected, and the King and his royal highness discoursed very much of that war, but it was suspected that they thought more of a peace.

March 6. Being near the Duke in Whitehall, as he and my Lord Treasurer were whispering together, the Treasurer, looking upon me, spoke again to the Duke, whereupon his highness came to me, and asked me if I had my commission. I answered no. 'But,' said he, 'I will give order concerning it to the Secretary;' and accordingly as I stood behind him the next day, as he dined with the King, he spoke to the Secretary (pointing to me at the same time) which the Secretary told me was concerning my commission, which was sealed some days after. This was a commission for raising an independent or unregimented company of foot, to consist of 100 men, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals and 2 drummers. The King and the Duke were so kind as to let me name my own officers; so I chose one Mr. Adams of Woodlathes for my lieutenant, and my wife's only brother for my ensign (who, poor gentleman, died afterwards at Burlington).

March 10. I desired his highness to remember the commission which he had promised to get for me for governor of Burlington. His highness discoursed many things with me at the same time concerning the garrison to be formed there.

He told me further that he was informed of a design in the House of Commons to fall upon him and my Lord Treasurer, and desired me to oppose it. My Lord Treasurer assured me of the same thing and to be done that day. That amongst other things they laid to his charge a treaty between the King and the Prince of Orange, which was printed, as being the adviser of it. But that it was a forgery, for there was really no such treaty; nor if there were did he think it at all to the

disadvantage of England. Another of his crimes would be for advising the King to make peace, which he never did; though it was not impossible that such a thing might be; and if it were, it was from nothing but the King's own judgment, who was very much inclined that way (if it were lawful to say so).

March 14. Several speeches were made, of jealousies and fears, and particularly of the army which was now raising; as if it were rather intended to set up absolute monarchy than to make war with France. Complaints were made of the counsels and of the chief ministers that gave them, but nobody was named. This long debate ended in voting an address to be made to the King, to desire his Majesty before that they proceeded to give any more money, he would please to declare war against France, and withcall his ambassador from the French Court. It was very stiffly debated that it should have been added to the address that his Majesty would please to put away those evil counsellors from about him, who had given him advice to adjourn the Parliament in May last, and had hindered a war with France all this time. At last it was put to the question whether it should be part of the address or not, and it was carried in the negative by five votes only. The same night, being with the Duke, he asked me several questions of things that passed in the Lower House. He spoke kind things of me to the Duke of Monmouth, and I kissed his hand for the commission received the day before. I was with the King at the French play that night, where he talked to me a great while.

March 16. By the Commons it was resolved that a day should be named to take the state of the kingdom into consideration in relation to popery.

March 19. My Lord Treasurer having sent for several members of that House, and me amongst others, to the Treasury chamber, told us that it became all

good subjects to withstand such motions and proceedings as much as might be, which were only offered to perplex and disturb the public peace, and to give jealousy to the government. The Duke told me (as a ridiculous thing) that amongst other matters it would be moved that all popish recusants should be disarmed.

This day in the afternoon I had a quarrel at the King's playhouse upon this occasion. As I sate in the pit a gentleman whose name I afterwards heard to be Mr. Symons, came and placed himself next to me; and not content to rest there, after a while desired me to give him my seat, or to exchange with him, pretending he was to speak to one of his acquaintance on the other side. I had no mind to quit my seat, which was better to see than his; besides, he having been drinking, his manner of asking was not altogether so grateful, insomuch that I denied it. Hereupon he said I was uncivil, and I told him he was a rascal; upon which words we were both prepared to strike one another, had not a gentleman that sate near us (one Sir Jonathan Trelawny) put his hand between us to prevent it. After a little while, when I saw nobody observed us, I whispered him in the ear to follow me out, telling him I would stay for him at the out-door. But before I got thither, one that observed my speaking to him and going out upon it, acquainted the captain of the guard, who was accidentally at the play, with what had passed; and that we should certainly fight if not prevented; who sent one after me, and another to him to secure us by a guard; till being the next day brought before the Duke of Monmouth (who acted as general), he made us friends, who had not been long enemies, for I had never seen the gentleman to my knowledge before in my life. Nor scarce after but once in the street that he desired to give me a bottle of wine, and told me he was very sorry that he had the misfortune to have a dispute with one of whom he heard so good a character.

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The Duke did it, and told me Sir Allan
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...h 10. Having some private intimation that one
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...d Treasurer to release a debt which he owed the King,
...tained an assignment of oils of him for my brother's
...e worth 2,000*l.* My Lord Treasurer prevailed with
his Majesty to release part of his debt to Bellamy. The
next day he broke for fifty thousand pounds, and my
brother lost 3,000*l.*, besides what I saved for him, which
put him much back both in his credit and trade.

March 11. The Parliament met, there having been a short adjournment to that day. The Speaker not being very well, and my Lord Treasurer and he not very kind, he got another soon chosen into the chair. The Houses were further adjourned to the 28th of April.

March 12. My Lord Treasurer had obtained of the King for me to be governor of Burlington, and my commission was signed, and I had a privy seal granted for a salary of 200*l.* per annum out of the Exchequer.

A great part of my time was now taken up to solicit my friends that were members of the Lower House to be present when my cause came on at the committee.

March 14. I told the Duke that I now despaired, since his highness's intercession could not prevail to prevent the Wentworth endeavours to throw me out of the House, of any composure of that matter. It must come to trial; and I desired he would command his servants that were of the House to assist me therein. He called for Sir John Worden, his then secretary, and bade him, with the rest of his servants, to attend the committee, for he would not lose me, right or wrong. Notwithstanding this order from the Duke, and one to the same purpose from the King, many of the Court did not appear; and Sir William Wentworth underhand, under colour of a family right, managed the thing to his utmost against me. It was a great fault in our princes, that though upon request made to them they would grant and give orders for the thing desired, but took little care how they were obeyed therein, which proved of ill effect to them, sometimes in things of greater moment.

March 21. At the Duke's levée I desired him to order his people once more to attend the committee that afternoon (it being the day of my election). The Duke of Monmouth, to whom I had made an application, told me he had already ordered all the officers that were Parliament men to be there, for he then was declared

general. The King was so zealous for me that he had charged some of his servants, with some threats, to attend the trial, as I was told, not being by, and himself confirmed it to me as he came out of his bedchamber. My Lord Treasurer told me the same, and carried me with him in his coach that day to the House, ordering two of his gentlemen to be at the lobby door to speak to Parliament men as they came in. In the afternoon the cause came on, and after a long debate, and the question put, I lost it by two votes only, there being upon a division of the committee 94 to 96. This was absolutely lost by the remissness of the Court party that did not attend, for the cause was the clearest for me that could be. But that would not prevail with the adverse party, who, as they were more diligent, so they were also more violent against those they opposed than the other.

The next day my Lord Treasurer complained with some bitterness of several that the King himself had spoken to who were absent; that all the King's business was like to be lost the same way, and that he never saw his Majesty more concerned in a thing than he was in this; but concluded that care should be taken to mend the matter, if possible, when the report was to be made to the House.

The King that afternoon came to me as soon as he saw me at my Lady Portsmouth's, and expressed his concern for my disappointment, and said with an oath that he would lay aside such servants as had disobeyed him in this matter. I humbly begged that nobody might suffer for me, but if he pleased to make some examples upon a more deserving occasion, it might prove of use to his service. He bade me not be discouraged. It was not for my own sake, but for his, that I met with so many adversaries in that House; for he heard that my cause was the justest in the world. The Duke coming in soon after, told me particularly what he had said to several to persuade

them to be for me, who had promised, who had failed, who had attended, who had not; and knew all particulars of the trial as if he had been upon the place. I replied that his highness did engage all the world to his service by that great industry which he used where he was pleased to concern himself. But that my adversaries had made me more considerable than I deserved to be, not only by the great opposition they made against me, but by giving a halloo in the House by way of triumph, when they found I had lost it. 'Well,' said the Duke, 'be not discouraged; if you go out of the House, we must make use of you in some other station more considerable.' I heard that the King when he was acquainted by somebody that the opposite party had given this kind of halloo (or noise of joy) when I had lost it, did say 'Those that would halloo him out of that House would halloo me out of the kingdom.'

The King had condescended so far as to acquaint the Commons with the heads of the treaty he was then to make with the confederates to have their advice upon it; but the anti-Court party smelt the design, and would have evaded meddling in the matter, knowing that would engage them to give money to carry on the war, which they would not believe the King designed in earnest. Instead of that there were many warm speeches against evil counsellors and ministers, naming no particular men, but they were well understood.

May 4. However, it was carried in the House that a speedy address should be made to his Majesty to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the confederates for abating the power of France.

May 6. My Lord of Danby wrote to the Speaker to give me what assistance he could in the report to be made of my cause from the committee to the House the next day. He also took a list of such as had been absent before, and sent to them personally to attend the House at the time of the report.

May 7. I had the gout seized of me but moderately; and by good fortune my cause was not reported by reason of some heats in voting occasioned by the news then arrived that we and Holland were concluding a peace with France. One vote was that an address be made to his Majesty to lay aside those counsellors that did advise him to give those answers to the two Houses upon their late addresses to his Majesty for a war against France. The truth is this gave some credit to the other party, several well-meaning men beginning to fear that the army now raised was rather intended to awe our own kingdom than to war against France (as was at first suggested by them).

May 6. It being put to the question whether an address should be made to the King for the laying aside the Duke of Lauderdale, of the kingdom of Scotland, from all employment, it was carried in the negative by one vote only.

May 10. The question was again put and carried, that such counsellors as had advised the King to make such answers to the late address from his Parliament, being betrayers of the King and kingdom, or to that effect, an address should be humbly presented to his Majesty to lay them aside from his councils and their other employments. This address was presented, and his Majesty's answer was this: that the said address was so extravagant he was not willing to give such an answer to it as it deserved. Lauderdale was particularly named in that address. The same day it was carried, and but by one vote in a full House, that the King's message lately sent them to consider of some means for a supply to his Majesty, for the paying off his fleet, should not be observed.

May 13. The King being advised of their high proceedings, prorogued the Parliament to the 23rd of that instant (May), which cut off all their votes and proceedings

upon all bills, and what had been voted in the committee as to my election, the report not having been made to the House.

Now it was generally believed that the peace was concluded between us, the confederates and the King of France. We blamed the States for being so ready to go into it; they blamed the Spaniard, that was ready to make offers of war, but had neither men, arms, nor money in Flanders to defend it, and both blamed the Parliament of England that, when it should be giving money and making other provisions for war, employed its time to quarrel at home with the government, and with one another.

May 23. The Parliament met, and the King spoke to them more briskly than usually, told them the peace was very near concluded between France and the confederates, which displeased extremely.

The Duke told me that day, though the army should be disbanded my government of Burlington should stand. My adversaries in my election preferred a petition against me in the House the same day. It was brought in by Mr. Herbert, which provoked me to declare to several persons (and some of the best quality) that it was out of private prejudice as well as public, he not having forgot since I threw a glass of wine in his face at Padua.

May 24. The Duke sent for Sir William Wentworth to the prince's lodgings at the Lords' House, and commanded him again to desist in his prosecution against me; and my Lord Treasurer told me he had so threatened the knight that he promised to desist provided Sir Solomon Swaile would leave the House and make room for his friend, which the Duke said he should; the Duke told me as much myself the next day at his levée.

This peace with France, when there was like to be so strong an union to reduce that proud and potent King to better manners, was very displeasing to England. The King, to throw the cause of it upon the Commons, told us

in his speech it was their voting that no money should be given till they had some security as to religion; that they would not direct nor advise him concerning the war, nor assist him till he had changed his counsellors, and consequently the little hopes the confederates could have of help from him, joined with the bad condition of Spain, that made them hearken to a peace. To this the sluggish motion of the Germans, the hard and tedious getting them together (their princes consisting of so many different interests), and the poverty of the States-General, contributed not a little.

Our King was chiefly condemned in this affair for deferring so long to enter into this alliance, which had he sooner done the French King would never have dared to proceed in the war, or at least have made so great a progress in Flanders, and have made so good an end for himself as he did by this peace.

To this the King said he could not have believed that the French King was able to weather out a war so well as he did against all Europe in a manner (himself and the King of Sweden only excepted, that sat neuters). And in case the many enemies he had had humbled him, England had reason to be content to look on, to enjoy the whole trade itself in the meantime, and to reap the benefit of other men's victories in the issue as well as themselves.

May 27. My Lord Treasurer made me a compliment about my speaking in the House of Commons, and told me I should command his services for myself or relations, which made me desire a boon from him on the behalf of Sir Tamworth Reresby. He promised to speak to the King for him. That day, attending the King as he walked in St. James's Park, he told me he had accommodated the difference with Sir William Wentworth about my election, and that now I might be at rest. I most humbly thanked his Majesty for the honour he did me for interesting himself so far for one so little able to serve him, but I

would make it my business to deserve it as much as I was capable, &c.

May 30. Notwithstanding all these engagements to the King and Duke, he had the impudence (I mean Sir William Wentworth) to prefer another petition against me as to my election. I told the King and Duke of it both in the park, who said he had acquainted them with some necessity to lodge a petition to preserve the right of the family's claim, but not with the least design to give me any further disturbance. The truth is he managed this matter so very foolishly, both with the King and Parliament, that he became the contempt of both; and his father, Sir Allan Apsley, and some other relatives, were no less angry with him than others; one that married his sister saying openly one day that though the King should pardon him he was lost for ever to the world. I was told the day after the Duke had written to Sir Solomon Swaile to quit.

That day a vote passed in the Lower House for disbanding the army.

June 2. Speaking to Sir Allan of his son Sir William Wentworth's proceeding, he desired me not to disquiet him with it; that he was a fool, and that if my case came to be tried he would himself vote against him in the committee. The same day I was served with an order to try the case the 15th instant. The King and Duke were told by my Lord Treasurer in the House of Lords. The latter sent for us both into the lobby, and told Sir William, 'You abuse both the King and me by giving this gentleman all this trouble contrary to your engagement. But let him be quiet, or never more look me in the face; nor will the King ever forget it.' Sir William would have said something in excuse of himself; the Duke would not hear him, but parting from him in anger, told him he was governed by a company of knaves, and was himself a fool. I had paid no kind of civility to Sir William for a considerable

time, he had acted so ill towards me, and yet durst not quarrel too far with him, the King and the Duke being so far possessed with the matter; but standing by when he was thus ruffled by his highness, he comes up to me, and instead of being angry that I was the cause of this ill-usage to him, supplicates me to assist him to get out of this business; promising if I would intercede for him to the King and Duke he would do all that in him lay that I should have no more disturbance as to my election. I replied that it was now more the King's business than mine, since he had done me the honour to interest himself so far in my election, and most his own; and therefore he might act in this concern as he pleased for himself, and that would be best for me; but I should not trouble the King or the Duke till I saw some effects of his endeavours.

I told him, moreover, that he had reflected upon Sir Edmund Jennings as a member of Parliament for something he had said in the committee in favour of me and my cause; that he had reason rather to take at me in that case, for I was ready to justify whatever my friends either said or did upon my account. He told me he was very well satisfied in all that Sir Edmund Jennings had said or done.

June 4. The Commons voted two hundred thousand pounds to be given to the King for disbanding of the army; but under great restrictions, lest the King should take the money and employ it to other uses. It was therefore under such penalties to the officers of the Exchequer, and such others through whose hands it came, that they durst not employ it but to the right purpose. When it was so secured the money was very willingly given, the nation and its representatives dreading nothing so much as a standing army.

Sir Solomon Swaile, who was now convicted of popery, was fallen upon in the House of Commons, and being absent, was ordered to attend the House by letter from

the Speaker on the Monday following, and that a copy of his conviction should be produced at the same time.

June 8. Sir William Wentworth asked leave of the King to go post into Yorkshire to his cousin Wentworth, of Woolley, to see if he could bring him to reason in my concern. That day, being with Sir Henry Goodricke and his lady (the finest woman, one of them, in that age), he seemed to take something ill from her and me as we were discoursing very innocently together; but it was too groundless to continue.

June 13. One Mr. Bennet, a member of the House, reflected upon my Lord Latimer and his family, speaking in the House. My lord stayed till the House rose, and then taking Bennet by the shoulder (I being with his lordship), challenged him to fight the next day. I offered my lord my service in that matter, but Bennet was more valiant in words than deeds, and desired pardon.

June 20. Sir Solomon Swaile was expelled the House for being a papist; and a vote passed at the same time that the House would not concern itself in matter of elections any more during this session.

June 21. Sir William Wentworth returned, pretending he could not persuade his cousin Wentworth to desist. A new writ was obtained for the choosing a new member at Aldborough in the stead of Sir Solomon Swaile. My Lord Treasurer prevailed with my Lord Chancellor to bring it with him to the Charterhouse the 22nd, where I dined with their lordships; and it was given to the Under-Sheriff of Yorkshire, with this order from the Lord Treasurer to execute it, and to make the return as I directed, and he would justify him in it.

I desired his lordship to beg the King's leave to go down, both by reason of that business and my own, having been so long absent from my wife and family. He desired me to stay one week longer, pretending it necessary for

the King's service, and that he was desirous to do me some service otherways before I went.

There was fresh discourse of a war with France, that King and ours differing about the interest of the King of Sweden, which the French would have adjusted before they would deliver up the towns they had taken in Flanders; but I thought it impossible by what I heard, and seeing the King, Duke, and French ambassador so often very merry and intimate at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, laughing at those that believed it in earnest.

June 30. Sir William Wentworth and the Under-Sheriff both came to me and put me in hopes that old Wentworth would now desist. My Lord Treasurer the next day gave me two letters, written with his own hand, the one to Mr. Wentworth, the other to the high sheriff. The first contained reasons and entreaties to let me be no more disturbed, the second to desire the sheriff to execute the writ in favour of Sir Thomas Mauleverer to be elected, the same way that I was, in Sir Solomon's stead, except Mr. Wentworth would acquiesce. For his great design was to have the elections so made as to preserve, or rather create, the power of making them in his own family and as he pleased.

I returned safe to Thrybergh the beginning of July. Soon after I was at Aldborough, where I had Mr. Wentworth's promise to rest undisturbed as to my own election, and where Sir Thomas Mauleverer was chosen instead of Sir Solomon Swaile.

July 15. The assizes were held at York, where I had a trial with Mr. Bright, the knave that had been the great agent in contriving and managing that invention of the Moor. I heard that he had said that I had caused the boy's death, for which words I brought my action, and recovered of him a hundred marks and, more than that,

my credit, all the world being convinced of the malice and falsehood of the inventor.

From York I went to my government at Burlington, where I found a very good company of a hundred men, and the inhabitants very kind to me; only some of the neighbouring gentlemen took it not so well that a gentleman of another riding was preferred to that command before them.

The fort was well repaired to the sea, and the platform with twelve guns mounted upon it in good order, and the governor's house, where the gunner lived, newly fitted with a place for the stores. I stayed here but five days, and returned to Thrybergh, where I gave the Duke an account how I found the garrison.

My wife's only sister, that had lived with me since my marriage, left my house upon some discontent to live in another place, and roved from one relation to another, till at last going to London she renewed her acquaintance with a gentleman that never designed to marry her (though he had formerly pretended to her), was robbed by him of the greatest part of her fortune, and at last died miserably.

August 6. The sessions for the West Riding was held at Rotherham, where I gave the charge. Most of the justices lay at my house.

August 16. Came the news that the peace was concluded between the French and the Dutch, whereupon the King prorogued the Parliament till October 1st.

August 22. I returned and carried my family to Burlington, where I stayed near three weeks. At my return to York I met the commissioners for the tax given the King to disband the army, where we did execute it for the West Riding. The Parliament was again further prorogued to the 21st of October by proclamation.

October. The beginning of this month I was taken with an unaccountable disorder in my head, that I could

not think nor do anything with satisfaction, nor could I give any reason for it. Nobody, I thank God, either being, or having reason to be, more satisfied in their low condition than myself, and there were many in a much higher that had less cause to think themselves happy than myself; but I presume it proceeded from the spleen. It was some time ere I could recover myself, but I thank my merciful God I was never so troubled before nor since.

October 10. Now came the first news of the popish plot, or a design of the papists to kill the King, and of its discovery. It is not possible to imagine what a ferment the artifice of some, and the real belief and fear of others concerning this plot, put the two Houses of Parliament and the greatest part of the nation into.

October 20. I got to London with my wife and family.

October 21. The Parliament assembled; at the opening of which the King told us in his speech that he had kept the army longer on foot than by the Act for disbanding of it was allowed, but he had done it to preserve the rest of Flanders, which was very chargeable to him; that he was in a great deal of debt; that his revenue would not defray the charge of the Government; that he would inform them of it, by laying the whole scheme of his income before them, and then doubted not but they would give him an increase of it; that there had been a design to take away his life by the Jesuits and their party, but he would not enter into particulars of it, lest some should think that he said too little, and others that he said too much; but he would leave the whole thing to their enquiry.

The two Houses, especially the Commons, took fire presently at it, and voted an address, to be presented to the King, that all papists should be immediately sent ten miles from London. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of the peace of Middlesex, who had taken some

examinations privately brought to him of this plot, after having been missing three or four days from his house, was found dead in some fields near the town, supposed to be killed by papists, which increased the suspicion. The first discovery of this was by one Doctor Oates, who having, as he pretended, some jealousy of such a design, dissembled himself to be a papist, went and admitted himself of the Jesuits' College at St. Omer, where he discovered the whole matter, and communicated it to one Doctor Tong, an English divine, who told it to my Lord Treasurer, and he to the King privately, but so that there was no light nor discourse of it for a month after or thereabouts.

October 23. Being with the King at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, my Lord Treasurer present, the King told me he did think it some artifice, and did not believe one word of the plot.

October 25. Mr. Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, a rigid papist and an ambitious man, being committed and his papers seized some days before, the King told me and some others then waiting upon him that they contained plainly a design to introduce popery; that there were amongst them several letters to and from Father La Chase, the King of France's confessor and the Pope's nuncio at Paris; to break the present Parliament as too firm to the Church of England; to get money from France to carry on the design, and some reflections on the King; that he often made use of his royal highness's name, as not altogether a stranger to the design, &c.; but his Majesty did not believe there was any design upon his life.

The Duke of York seemed concerned at this impudence of Coleman's, declared his ignorance of his correspondence there, or of anything that it treated of in his letters, and desired his friends of both Houses to declare it for him. The Commons were very warm against

my Lord Treasurer for not making the plot sooner public, since the King might have been killed in the meantime. I was the first that told my lord this news before the King, who said my lord was not in fault as to that, for he had commanded him to keep it secret to discover the truth of it the better.

To give a particular account of this plot is not the business of this work; the several narratives of the witnesses to it before the Houses of Lords and Commons, the courts of justice, upon the trials of those that were accused to be concerned in it, will show that sufficiently. Only in general Doctor Oates, Mr. Bedloe, Dugdale, and many others, did endeavour to prove a design to set popery in this kingdom by killing the King and the Duke of Monmouth, that so the Crown might without competition devolve upon the Duke of York. The King was to be killed by poison by Sir George Wakeman, his physician (who was tried for it); the Queen privy to it; then by stabbing; several dealt with to do it, and Bedloe amongst others, who swore he attempted it at Windsor upon the servant of Mr. Killegrew, a bedchamber man, waiting for the King going to bed, and did actually kill him, believing it was the king. The truth is, such a person was stabbed upon a bed, where the King had thrown himself a little before, coming from a debauch, but that was attributed to other causes. The blow being given, an army of 50,000 papists was immediately to rise, headed by several persons of the popish religion of the first quality, who had all their several places of general, admiral, treasurer, chancellor, and other officers of the army and of the Crown assured to them by commissions from the Pope. Much of which appeared very improbable; but such was the torrent then, that no doubt was to be made of what was said.

October 28. Contrary to Mr. Wentworth's engagement, another petition was presented to the committee

of elections to disturb my sitting and choice as a Member of Parliament. I writ to him, and the sheriff (which last was, I feared, a conspirator with him, for all I had obtained him that office by means of the Lord Treasurer, as I have declared before, upon the death of Sir Godfrey Copley, his father). My Lord Treasurer, who was his cousin, bade me write one for him also to the sheriff, to discourage the design against me, which I did, and his lordship caused it to be transcribed, and signed it without altering one word.

All the beginning of November was taken up in the House of Commons in hearing several witnesses as to the plot, who came in plentifully; the King, at the request of the Commons, giving indemnity to such as could discover anything concerning it, however deeply engaged in it themselves, and allowing maintenance to them besides. After a little time it came to this vote in the Lower House, that the House was of opinion, from the evidence that appeared by Coleman's letters, the informations of Oates and others, that there was a hellish and damnable design to assassinate and murder the King, and to subvert the religion and government as established by law.

November 4. The House of Lords having requested his royal highness to withdraw himself from the King's councils, he consented. The House of Commons was higher, and was for removing him from the King's person. But some argued that to be dangerous, lest he might be persuaded to put himself at the head of the popish party. Some moved that he should be sent out of England. The King and the Duke himself spoke to all their friends to oppose that, which was done effectually; for no resolution being taken that day, the debate was adjourned to the 8th of November. However, though it was not voted, most of the House seemed to be of

opinion that the Duke's being of that persuasion, was the main encouragement to the papists in these attempts.

November 5. Came forth the proclamation for the banishment of papists ten miles from London.

November 6 and 7. Several of Coleman's letters, which he had received from Jesuits in France, Flanders, and Ireland, some directed to him, others to the Duke's confessor, were read publicly in the House (those that were in French being before translated into English by a committee appointed for that purpose, of which I was one, and translated six for my share). By several of the said letters the design did plainly appear to introduce popery, and by means pernicious to the King and government, but not so far as was pretended. The 7th, being with my Lord Treasurer (as I had been three times before that week with others) to consider what would be the fittest to be complied with to frame an Act to lessen the popish interest in this kingdom, his lordship told us the King would be content that something were enacted to pare the nails (to use his own phrase) of a popish successor; but that he would not suffer his brother to be taken away from him, nor the right line of the succession of the Crown interrupted.

November 10. Being Sunday, the Commons sat till four in the afternoon to examine Bedloe, who gave an account of the killing of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey by two of my Lord Bellasis's servants. Two priests in Somerset House accused that lord of being privy to the design of killing the King, and confirmed many other particulars of Oates's evidence. This Bedloe was the son of a cobbler in Wales, but had cheated a great many merchants abroad and gentlemen at home, by personating my Lord Gerard, and other men of quality, and by divers other cheats; and when he was taxed with it, he made it an argument to be more credited in this matter, saying nobody but a rogue could be employed in such designs.

November 12. I found something in one of Coleman's letters which I had to translate which seemed to justify the Duke in something that he seemed to be an abettor of, as to this plot. I presently showed it to my Lord Treasurer, and then to his highness, who made good use of it.

A jealousy now appeared to arise between the Duke and my Lord Treasurer. The Duke thought my lord promoted secretly the councils for his leaving the court, that he might have the King more absolutely in his own power; and my lord (that I believed endeavoured to serve the Duke all he could, though no friend to his religion) resented the Duke's suspicion. Several addresses were now presented to the King from the House of Commons; one for a commission for the justices of the peace to offer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to such persons as they suspected within ten miles of London, to try if they were papists. Another, which was twice offered, that all persons who lodged at Whitehall (whether servants or not to the Court) should be offered the oaths, and be dismissed in case they refused to take them.

November 13. That great bill passed in the House of Lords to incapacitate the popish lords to sit there, if they refused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; though my Lord High Treasurer said in my hearing the night before that he was sure that bill would never pass in that House. Bedloe the same day desired the Commons to intercede to the King for his pardon, he having further matter to discover concerning a great man at Court, but would not reveal it till he had his pardon, which the King granted.

The Duke of Holstein's resident having, it seems, reported that my Lord Treasurer was the pensioner of France, or at least his lordship being so informed, sent for the said resident and for me to be present when he examined him about it, who did absolutely deny it.

November 18. I acquainted his lordship that Monsieur du Cros, the said resident, had assured me the day before, that the Commons would certainly fall upon him, and that it was in his power to take off the edge of one most violent against him. I told him more that I heard from others, that my cousin Ralph Montagu, since Lord Montagu, lately recalled from being ambassador in France, and now member of our House, would accuse him there. My lord rejected both, saying, the latter durst not impeach him, for he had letters to show from him, whilst ambassador, that made out how endeavouring he was to persuade him to accept the French king's money, but he absolutely refused it. The Duke told me the same day that he expected to be attacked by the Commons, and hoped his friends would stand firm to him. Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, was then committed by the House to the Tower, for passing the musters of some popish officers without offering them the oaths, though he had his Majesty's order for it.

Bedloe, being further examined before my Lord Chief Justice, accused my Lord Carrington and my Lord Brudenell to be privy to the plot; the former was thereupon committed. He said, therefore, that 10,000 Spaniards were to land at Burlington, and to be commanded by Sir Henry Tichborne as general and Sir Francis Ratcliffe as lieutenant-general; which was very improbable, Spain not having men at this time to supply and defend its territories, either at home or abroad, which gave France so great advantage against it.

November 21. His Majesty told me Bedloe was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false evidence concerning the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

In preparing the bill for purging the House of Lords of such as refused to take the oaths, it was put to the vote whether his royal highness should be excused from taking the said test. It was carried in the affirmative by

two votes only; if this had been carried against him, he would also have been voted from the King's presence. I spoke for the Duke in this debate, and had his highness's thanks when I waited upon him.

My brother, Sir Henry Goodricke, having then a regiment of foot in the army, one of his captains threw up his commission upon some disgust, and challenged his colonel. He accepted the challenge and came to seek me to be his second; but not finding me at home, he took Sir Thomas Mauleverer, who ran his adversary through the body; and Sir Henry wounded and disarmed his.

November 26. Dr. Oates being further examined on the plot, accused the Queen to be privy, and consenting to the King's being to be killed by poison; when he had some days before taken his oath at the bar of the House of Lords that he had discovered all that he knew of the plot, and of any person of quality concerned in it.

The same day it was voted in the Lower House that the army should be speedily disbanded.

Mr. Bedloe did give evidence that there was a consultation at Somerset House, where the Queen, my Lord Bellasis, my Lord Powis, and four French abbots being present, it was agreed that the King should be poisoned; that the Queen wept, but at last did consent to it; but this he had only from Mr. Coleman.

November 30. Was employed in taking the oaths and the test by the two Houses of Parliament. All the popish lords were banished that House by it, save three that swore. The Commons did generally take the oaths, &c.

My wife and family came up to me to London.

December 1. It was voted by the Commons that an address be made to the King from that House, representing the ill state of the nation, and the danger it was in, by his Majesty rather following private councils than those of his two Houses of Parliament. My Lord Treasurer was

struck at, and some others of the Cabinet Council, by this address. This was carried by twenty-two votes, and some of the Court's friends were for it; which made some jealous that the Duke, being no longer in Council, was fearful my Lord Treasurer should have too much power with the King, and was therefore consenting that he should be thus removed. It was said, too (but unjustly) that some had persuaded the Duke that my Lord did persuade the King that there was something of probability in the accusation of the Queen, that he might hearken to a divorce, and marry another more likely to bring children to the Crown.

The bills for the disbanding the army, and raising money for that service, and for the better conviction of popish recusants, took up the time of both Houses, where happened many warm debates too long here to be named, the Commons not suffering the Lords to alter a money bill.

December 19. The King having caused Mr. Montagu's papers to be seized, gave this account of it to the Lower House, that he, having been his ambassador at the French Court, had there treated with the Pope's nuncio, without commission from him; and that he had done this to find out the subject of that treaty. Montagu, on the other hand, declared in the House that it was my Lord Treasurer had wrought upon the King to do this, knowing that he had letters under his lordship's own hand sufficient to ruin him, which he had used this artifice to get from him; and that notwithstanding most of his letters had been seized, yet he had secured the most material. One of them produced in the House, bearing date March 25, 1678, was to this purpose—that he was to acquaint that Court with the great difficulties he met withal here to conclude a peace between us and them, for fear the Parliament should find it out. However, he had order from the King to bid him treat with them for a peace, as well between them and the confederates as

ourselves; upon condition the French king would give ours 600,000 livres per annum for three years together, after the peace was concluded; for our King disgusting his Parliament by that means, could not expect any money from them for so long a time; that when he wrote back to the Secretary here of this transaction, he should mention nothing of the money, &c.—signed 'Danby.'

This put the House into a flame, and it was presently moved that he ought to be impeached of high treason; for this was endeavouring to divide the King from his Parliament, and to make it of no use. One Mr. Powell said further that it was to take upon him to usurp a power to the exclusion of other councillors, who had right to advise the King as well as himself; the very treason which was laid to the charge of the Spencers and the Duke of Ireland in Richard the Second's reign.

To this was answered that it was not so great an offence to write this by the King's own order, which was expressed in the letter itself, and would be owned, as supposed, by the King at this time. That the King had power to advise with which of his councillors he pleased; and if his Majesty saw that the confederates would make a peace, which we must follow, where was the harm to make what advantage we could to ourselves by it, and to spare at the same time the purses of his subjects?

The second letter purported an assurance that there were inclinations of a very fair understanding between us and his Majesty of France; with advice to hasten the peace, because the Duke seemed every day more and more averse to it, with mention of some towns as conditionary to be delivered up by the French to the confederates, upon concluding this peace. Mr. Montagu declared in the House that the French King was willing to deliver up two towns more than he did in the former treaty; but that my Lord Treasurer was so earnest and pressing for money, that he made the terms much worse for the con-

federates; but could not aver that he knew of any money paid actually either to him or to our King. Other things were then laid to the Lord Treasurer's charge; amongst them the mal-administration of his office and the lowness of the Exchequer. To this it was answered, by his lordship's friends, that 600,000*l.* debt had been paid off since his lordship came into office, and no money was given all that time to the King but what was appropriated to the uses to which it was designed.

He was further accused (his letter bearing date 25th of March, 1678, and the Act by which money was given the King to enter into a war against France being passed the 20th) with deluding the nation, first to advise the King to take money to raise an army for war, and at the same time to treat for money from France to make a peace, which looked as if a standing army was designed to enslave us at home, not to make war abroad. Voted upon the whole that an inpeachment be drawn up against my Lord Treasurer, and a committee was accordingly appointed to do it. Mr. Montagu was very justly censured in this matter, for disclosing these things which passed through his hands when a public minister, without the King's leave.[1]

I spoke for my Lord Treasurer in this debate.

December 20.—My Lord Treasurer endeavoured to take away the credit of his accuser by writing to the Speaker and sending him two of Mr. Montagu's letters, written from France, which were read in the House. In one he gave this account, that Monsieur de Ruvigny was sent into England by the French king, hoping by his relation to my Lord Russell's lady to make an interest in that lord and the other anti-Court parties in our House, whereby to make the King jealous and to possess him with a worse opinion of this Parliament. The second said that Ruvigny

[1] Montagu lived at Montagu House, Bloomsbury, on the site of the British Museum. He was advanced to a dukedom by Queen Anne.

had commission to complain of my Lord Treasurer to the King for regarding more to make himself popular with the Parliament than to pursue his master's interest, for he advised the King to war with France to please them, when he knew it was to the King's prejudice. It advised further that if Ruvigny was but disappointed in gaining upon the malcontents of the House, the King might certainly get money from France, and therefore it was his Majesty's interest to send him back with all speed, which would certainly raise the market for a peace.

By these letters Montagu appeared guilty and active in the same offences of which he accused the Treasurer; but my lord had so many enemies that the whole reflexion and violence was only against himself; in fine, the tide was not to be stemmed, and these six articles were read, debated and passed against his lordship of high treason.

1. That his lordship had traitorously usurped the royal power by treating with foreign ministers without the privity of other privy councillors concerning a peace with France, contrary to an Act of Parliament.

2. That he had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the ancient government of this kingdom by advising the raising of an army under pretence of a war against France, and by keeping it on foot contrary to an Act of Parliament, whereby to create jealousies of the government in the minds of the people.

3. That he had traitorously endeavoured to alienate the heart of his Majesty from his people and Parliament by treating with the French king to supply his Majesty with a great sum of money.

4. That he was popishly affected, that he had concealed the plot to the hazard of the King's life, and discouraged the King's evidence in the discovery of it.

5. That he had traitorously mis-spent the revenue of the Crown in passing privy seals for 190,602*l.*, for pensions and private services in two years' time, and in

diverting one entire branch of the revenue to private uses.

6. That he had obtained several gifts from the King of his ancient crown lands, contrary to all Acts of Parliament.

There was much debate whether all these (were they true) would amount to high treason, none of them being within the statute of Edward III. It was answered that that Act of Parliament limits only the construction of treason in other courts, not in Parliaments, to make other things treason either declaratory, or by bill. This was denied as to making declaratory treason; for if a Parliament had that power, then what need was there of a bill for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford? It was further argued for my Lord Treasurer that if the King had the power of making peace and war, he had it also to command his ministers to treat of it, and no Act of Parliament could take away that fundamental right of the Crown. That it was dangerous to extend the construction of treason too far; the more treasons the more snares to us and our posterities. I spoke twice in this debate this day. At last, the question being put whether the impeachment of high treason, upon these articles against his lordship, should be carried up to the House of Lords, the House divided—the ayes were 179, and the noes 130.

December 23. The impeachment was carried up to the Lords' bar, where it was presently debated whether his lordship should withdraw. It was carried in the negative by 20 votes. Both Houses adjourned for Christmas Eve and Christmas Day only.

December 26. The Houses met; the Commons heard some evidence concerning the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and quarrelled with the Lords concerning the amendment they had made in the money bill for disbanding the army. I spoke that day both with

the King and the Duke, who both declared they would adhere to my Lord Treasurer.

December 27. The Lords voted that his lordship should not be committed. The same day the dispute between the two Houses concerning the money bill was decided by a conference, and the bill passed both Houses. The King observing that the Earl of Strafford was violent against my Lord of Danby in the House (which indeed was from a personal pique he had to him for obstructing a pension which he had from the Crown), told me he wondered at it, since his father came to that unfortunate end by the same method of proceeding.

December 30. When it was least expected, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of February; some said in favour of the papists, others of the Lord Treasurer, others in defence of his prerogative, which was more than one way invaded by the proceedings of the Commons. But he declared at the same time that he intended to disband the army, and to pursue the plot.

1679.

January 1. It was reported that Mr. Montagu was withdrawn, and true, for he was soon after discovered in a disguise at Dover, going for France. The same day both the Duke and my Lord Treasurer said the King designed to keep my company standing if possible; however, if the Parliament should disband that with the rest of the army, he would give me some other employment of as considerable value. Some murmurs were frequent in the interval of Parliament that the army was not disbanded, and that three persons condemned for the plot were respited from execution.

January 6. Being at a play where I sat near Col. Macarty, who was shortsighted, a gentleman in drink quarrelled with him, and drawing his sword passed at

him before Macarty was ready, or indeed saw it, and had certainly wounded him, had not I put by the sword with mine that was drawn whilst he recovered himself; but they were then parted without harm. Macarty was to fight him the next day, but I told the King of it, who caused them to be both secured and made friends.

January 21. The Duke of Norfolk made me a visit.

January 24. My Lord Treasurer sent for me, and told me the King had declared that he would dissolve that Parliament, and advised me to make an interest as soon as I could in order to a new election, for another Parliament would be speedily called. This Parliament was loyal and firm for the most part both to the King and Church, which made that part which was otherwise desirous to get it dissolved, and the way they found out for it (as was credibly reported) was to persuade the Treasurer to obtain it of the King, promising him if it succeeded there should be no further prosecution against him in the next Parliament; but they deceived him, as appeared afterwards.

January 31. Both the King and the Duke advised me to stand for the next Parliament; and both of them assured me of my government at Burlington, and of their assistance in case it came to a controverted election.

February 4. The proclamation being then come out to choose a new Parliament; I took my leave of the King and the Duke. My Lord Treasurer carried me to his Majesty, and I thanked him for his promise to me to preserve my government. The King replied that I had served him faithfully, and that he intended to be kind to me. My Lord Treasurer wrote by me at the same time to the high sheriff of Yorkshire to be kind to me in the return. I then also took leave of the Duke of Monmouth.

February 5. I took room in a hackney-coach to York, leaving my wife and family in town.

February 11. I arrived at York the 11th. At

Aldborough the next day, where five ancient burgesses of the nine offered to elect me and my partner, whom I named (Mr. Arthington), with little expense. My adversaries, who stood upon another interest, which was that of Mr. Wentworth, were Sir Godfrey Copley, who was sheriff the year before by my means (as I have mentioned), and one Mr. Wentworth. By my interest with the then sheriff I got the election put off till the 28th, in which time I went and disposed of my affairs, and saw my four youngest children at Thrybergh.

There was great dispute as to elections all over England at this time, as men stood affected to the Government and to the then Minister, and as men believed them well-intentioned or otherways.

I then met with the ill news of the death of my brother Brown, my wife's only brother, ensign to my company at Burlington, a handsome ingenious young man. He was bred to the law; but an airiness of spirit, an excellent voice, which usually makes men lovers of company, took him off from his studies, and drew him into some prodigality. However, he left me a house at York worth 25*l.* per annum; and to his godson, my son John, all the land he had in England, 500*l.* legacy to my wife, 500*l.* to his other sister, Mrs. Honora Brown, and made me his sole executor, which was worth 200*l.* more.

I perceived by my neighbours that came to visit me in the country that it was very much poisoned with an ill conceit of my Lord Treasurer, as concerned in the design to bring in popery.

February 26. I returned to Aldborough, where I understood that Mr. Arthington (Mr. Wentworth, who was to be brother burgess with Sir Godfrey Copley being elected in another place) was also elected upon the interest and foundation, whereon Sir Godfrey Copley was to be elected (which was by old Mr. Wentworth's way of choosing), so that he was at the day chosen both ways, both by the

majority of the nine and by the freeholders at large; so that my indenture and Mr. Arthington's was signed by 5, Sir Godfrey's and his by 48. Mr. Shuttleworth was then high sheriff, a timorous man, and much inclined to return the indenture which had most names to it rather than mine. Sir Godfrey had three lawyers at the election to plead the legality of it, and the danger of it to the sheriff if he refused to return it. I had nobody to plead my cause but myself, no lawyer nor assistant, Mr. Arthington being sure both ways. But I so ordered the matter, that after a debate of almost two hours the sheriff and his officers were convinced by my reasons to return my indenture singly, which was a providence, and gained me some repute of parts in the opinion of three hundred persons then present, gentlemen and others. Most of the gentry dined with me that day. The charge of this election cost me about 40*l.* It cost Sir Godfrey Copley above 200*l.*

March 1. I returned to Thrybergh.

March 3. I set forward for London, and arrived on the 6th.

CHAPTER VII.

Meeting of the New Parliament—The Duke sent to Flanders—The Choice of Speaker—Danby driven to resign—Bitterness of the Commons against him—The King's Indifference—Sir John moralises on the Uncertainty of Greatness—Danby committed to the Tower—Discharge of the Privy Council—The Duke of Monmouth—Lord Halifax—Reresby loses his Seat—Demonstrations against a Popish Successor to the Crown—Charles maintains his Brother's Rights—Melancholy State of the Kingdom—Shaftesbury and Monmouth—Disputes between the two Houses—A Rising in Scotland suppressed—Reresby entertains Monmouth at Doncaster—Dissolution of Parliament—Preparations in Yorkshire for the General Election—Ungrateful and mercenary Electors—Sir John Kaye—At Welbeck and Hardwick—Polling at York and Pontefract—Quarrel between Reresby and Sir John Jackson of Hickleton—The Duke and Duchess of York journey Northward—The Duke of Newcastle entertains them—Reception at York—Monmouth in Disgrace—Formation of Cabals—Pretended Marriage of Charles—Conversations with the King and his Brother—County Matters—Trial of Papists at York—Mr. Tankard—Petitions of the Grand Jury—At Chatsworth and the Cutlers' Feast—Lord Halifax at Rufford—Parliamentary Proceedings against the Duke of York—The Yorkshire Petition—Fears of the King's Desertion of his Brother—The Duchess of Portsmouth—Great Debate in the Lords—Eloquence of Lord Halifax—Defeat of the Shaftesbury Party—Halifax in high Office—His Unpopularity with the Commons—He confides in Sir John—The Loyal Party in Yorkshire—Trial of Lord Stafford—The Commons' Propositions to Charles—Anecdote of the King—A Dinner with Doctor Oates.

March 6. Parliament met that day, but a difference happened in the House of Commons, who would have chosen one Speaker, and the King did recommend another; so they refused to do business, and adjourned the House to the 7th, from that day to the 8th, and so to the 10th.

March 7. I met the King in his royal robes and his crown upon his head, as he went out of the House of Lords, who stopped to ask me if I was elected. I answered, yes; he said he was glad of it. I found, to

the surprise of all men, at my return, that the King had commanded the Duke to go into Flanders. Some said the Treasurer had obtained it to get the King to himself; others said it was to avoid the violence of both Houses against the Duke, from the suspicion of some that he was of the plot. But it was, I presume, chiefly to remove all jealousy from the Parliament, that his Majesty was not at all influenced by popish councils—no, not his brother's.

The Commons began to be angry with the Treasurer, for the Speaker they had a mind to being refused by the King, saying he was the occasion of it, because he was not his lordship's friend. The dispute continued between the King and the Commons, till at last they addressed the King, beseeching him not to invade their undoubted privilege to choose their Speaker. The King still insisted upon it as his privilege to allow their choice, without which he was no Speaker. It was the opinion of all the moderate men in the House that such punctilios did not deserve to occasion delays, when there lay business of such importance before them, but the angry party would not submit; so that by way of expedient the King did prorogue the Parliament from the 11th to the 15th inst.; then Serjeant Gregory was chosen Speaker, which all sides agreed to.

And now the storm began to fall so heavy upon my Lord Treasurer, that he was persuaded to incline to deliver up his staff, and with it his office, hoping to appease both Houses by it. I was against it, I confess, so long as he found the King stick to him, and said it would rather be a means to make his enemies more fierce—the Lords would fear him the less when he was out of power, and the Commons not love him the better. Now several persons had got into good employments, not by my lord's kindness so much, as by giving money to his lady, who had driven a secret trade of taking bribes for good offices, and not without my lord's knowledge. I knew it, but

had neither the face nor the desire to come in at that door, which made me postponed to some that, as I thought, deserved as little as myself; but those that were so admitted stayed not long in their places after his lordship's exit.

March 17. The committee appointed to examine the plot, heard Oates's and Bedloe's evidence, where the latter accused the Treasurer with tampering with him to fly in this interval of Parliament.

March 19. The 11th of April was appointed by the committee of privileges for the trying the election at the petition of Sir Godfrey Copley, and it was ordered that the high sheriff should be sent for up to answer his making a single return; so severely did all things go with my Lord Treasurer's friends.

March 20. A message was sent to the Lords to desire that my Lord Treasurer might be committed, the Lords having voted before the same day that his lordship should have eight days to bring in his defence.

March 22. The Commons repeated the former message to the Lords.

March 23. The King coming to the House of Lords, in his robes and with his crown upon his head, told both Houses that it was by his particular order that my Lord Treasurer had written those particular letters to Montagu; and that it was not my Lord Treasurer who concealed the plot, since it was himself that told it to his lordship, from time to time, as he thought fit. His Majesty declared further that he had given my Lord Treasurer a full pardon, and he would, if need required, give it him again ten times over: however, he intended to lay him aside from his employments, and to forbid him coming to Court.

Some would have persuaded him to have fled, and the two Houses would have been content with it; for the Lords had a conference with the Commons about making a bill to banish him, but the Commons desired some

days to consider of it, hoping he would withdraw in that time.

March 24. I saw my lord at midnight as he came out of his closet, from advising what to do with his friends. He gave me a great many thanks and good words, told me he had recommended me to the King as a fit person to go envoy to France, and told me where I was to apply myself in his absence, if I wanted anything with the King.

March 25. The Commons fell into a great heat, denied to comply with the Lords, in their bill of banishment, as too moderate a punishment, but sent to demand justice of their lordships against the Treasurer, declaring that he ought not only to be punished in his own person, but in his posterity, to be an example to others to behave themselves better in that place. Before this message came to the Lords they had changed their minds, and sent the Black Rod for my Lord Treasurer, but he had absented himself, and it was then doubted the King began to cool towards him.

It is very unhappy for a servant to serve an inconstant or unsteady prince, which was a little the fault of our master. It is certain, if the Treasurer would but have used the best means he could for himself, he might have come off better; but he resolved rather to suffer than to say what might have reflected on the King or others near him, as he since said himself. This great change, I confess, made me seriously reflect upon the uncertainty of greatness. It was not many months ago that few considerable things passed or were granted at Court, but with the knowledge or consent of this great man. The King's brother, and favourite mistress, were glad to be fair with him, and the general address of all men of business was to him, that was not only Treasurer, but Chief Minister; that did not only keep the purse, but was the first and greatest confidant in business. Now,

he became neglected of all, was forced to abscond, in danger to lose all he had gotten, and his life with it. And his family, raised from private gentleman to marquis (for a patent was then passing for that honour), was now upon the brink of falling to less than yeoman; inasmuch as the meanest subject would scarce now have changed positions with him, whom the greatest envied so lately before. This confirmed me in the opinion that a middle estate was ever the best, not so lowly as to be trodden upon, nor so high as to be in danger to be shaken with the blasts of envy. Not so lazy as not to endeavour to be distinguished in some measure from men of the same rank by one's own industry; nor so ambitious as to sacrifice the ease of this life, and the hopes of happiness in the next, to climb over the heads of others, to a greatness of uncertain continuance. And I take this to be the fit and just care of a father of children, and of the chief of a family, so to endeavour to provide for the one, and to improve the other, as not to endanger the ruin of both. It was my kindness to this, I confess (as much as anything in my own temper), which made me launch into the world at elder years, when I had passed my younger (and was fitter for business) more retiredly, as what I have given an account of heretofore will demonstrate; but when I had children as I had at this time, I resolved to make use of those few parts which God had given me to try if by any just and safe means I could acquire something to mend their condition; which, by God's mercy to me, I in some measure succeeded in.

March 26. I wrote to his royal highness, and gave him an account how affairs passed here. Several disputes happened between the two Houses in the case of this lord, the Lords adhering to their bill of banishment, the Commons to their bill of attainder, till at last it came to a free conference. This business, and that of the plot, took up the time of both Houses for a long time. It

was suspected this while that my Lord Danby lay concealed at Whitehall.

The King seemed not concerned at his parting thus with his brother and his Treasurer, nor what use the Parliament would make of it; which it was suspected would be to get their own friends into office, and obtain some snip of the prerogative, in consideration of the money they gave to his Majesty. Such elections as were tried went against those that had any friendship for the Treasurer, let their cause be never so just. Sir Edmund Jennings, Sir Francis Lawley, Sir Charles Wheeler, all put into good places at Court by means of his lordship, were displaced, and several others.

April 17. My lord of Danby having surrendered himself, was committed to the Tower, where I went to visit him. He appeared not much concerned.

April 18. I was a good while with the King, who promised to assist me by commanding his servants and friends that were of the House to attend the committee when my cause came on.

April 19. The Privy Council, consisting of fifty lords, was discharged, and another called or chosen of thirty of those Lords and Commoners that had chiefly opposed the King's interest as lately managed in both Houses, as my Lord Russell, my Lord Halifax, my Lord Cavendish, &c. The Admiralty was put into commission, and so was the Treasury. The Duke of Monmouth was believed to be at the bottom of these councils, and it was certainly here that he began to set up for himself.

April 23. The time coming on for my election to be tried, I solicited the Duke of Monmouth, the man then in power, to assist me by his friends in the trial of my election. He promised to do it, and the Duke of Albemarle seconded me to him, telling him he would oblige him by it, it being for his cousin. The latter invited me

to dinner with several Parliament men, and recommended me with earnestness to their assistance.

April 25. My Lord Danby returned his answer to his impeachment to the Upper House, pleading the King's pardon. It was sent down to the Lower, where it was referred to a committee to be considered of. The result of which was that his Majesty had no power to grant a pardon in this case. The same day both Houses began to reflect on the Duchess of Portsmouth.

April 26. The Commons resolved to sit the next day, being Sunday, to consider of the means for the preservation of his Majesty's person; and it was then voted that the best way was to prevent the succession falling into the hands of a papist; and that the Duke of York being such, was the reason of the late conspiracy against the King's person and government, and the religion as by law established.

My lord Viscount Halifax being now of the council, and entering into business, though a great enemy to the Earl of Danby, professed a kindness to me, and said he would befriend me as to my election, no man having more interest with the Commons than he had; but whether it was fear to disoblige his party, I found he was not very warm in the matter. Most of the other lords and gentlemen of the Privy Council, though very great patriots before in the esteem of both Houses, began to lose their credit with them in some measure; so true it is that the Court and country livery can never be worn together.

Some lords that had been committed to the Tower, and my Lord of Danby—the former for the plot, and all for high treason—desired that counsel might be assigned them; which was denied by both Houses, for it was resolved that counsel might be assigned in cases of felony or treason in a particular fact, but not for a general defence.

May 7. My cause came on to be heard before the

committee of elections, where all the adverse party did muster strongly against me, and yet I only lost it by two votes, which I looked upon as half a victory at that time of the day.

May 11. Was appointed to consider of his Majesty's speech, as to that part where he told us that he was willing to concur with his Parliament in passing a bill for limiting a popish successor, so that he should not be able to alter the Government and religion as now by law established, but he would not suffer the succession itself to be touched. Against this day a committee had been appointed to examine Coleman's letters, and to make a report to the House of whatever related therein to the Duke of York. The committee reported that they found in the said letters that the Duke had written thrice to the Pope; that his first letter miscarried; the second gave so great satisfaction to his holiness that the old man wept for joy; the third was to excuse his consenting to marry his eldest daughter to the Prince of Orange, the necessity of affairs requiring it in that conjuncture (or to that effect); that in the treaties which Coleman managed with the French King's confessor (Le Chase) he used the Duke's name and authority for promoting the Catholic cause, and for setting that religion in England; but there was nothing mentioned of the Duke's being concerned in any other part of the plot, or in the design of attempting upon the King's life.

Debate then began what method to follow, whether the House should proceed to frame a bill after the method offered by the King, or of exclusion from the Crown. Those that were for the bill of limitation said that the Government and religion might be as safely preserved that way as the other; for by that a small revenue might be settled upon a popish successor whilst he continued of that religion; the militia might be settled out of his power; a Parliament should be empowered to be called

or to assemble, whenever the present King died, and to sit six weeks to settle the kingdom, to appoint Protestant officers, military and civil, and to choose bishops, which the successor, if a papist, should have no power to nominate.

To this was answered, this was to alter the very frame of the Government and of monarchy, to make it a republic, nor would it prove of any use; for the King was king by the fundamental laws of this land, the head of the three estates, insomuch that such a Parliament so called could do nothing without him; that whilst he had the title of King, he would exercise the power of a king; that this was therefore not so safe a way to proceed as by utter seclusion. It was argued that this was worse than the other, for it was taking away absolutely his birthright, which the Duke had as much to the Crown, should the King die without issue, as any there had to his father's estate; that it was not likely that a prince of his spirit would be so easily disinherited; that whenever it had been formerly attempted in case of the Crown in this kingdom, it never succeeded, but right prevailed at the last; that civil wars had formerly cost England dear on these occasions; that success would reverse all attainders; and should the Duke arrive that way to the Crown, both the overthrow of religion and the Government would be more to be feared, than whilst there was yet a probability of coming to it peacefully.

May 12. I told the King my fate in the committee. He said he was sorry for it, but they should not stay long behind, except they used himself and his brother better. His Majesty promised me the continuance of the command of Burlington, with the salary of two hundred pounds, till a company fell, which I should have in lieu of mine now to be disbanded with the rest of the army.

May 14. The King sent a message to the Commons, to think of raising money for setting out a fleet, and for

naval stores, which were wanting in all the magazines in England. Upon taking the said message into consideration, it seemed to be the opinion of the House that no money should be given for any use whatever till the succession was changed, religion secured, and all officers whom they disliked removed all over the kingdom. The debate ran to this effect, but no vote did pass, only that the further consideration of this matter should be adjourned for eight days.

The lords in the Tower for the plot, and my lord of Danby, being shortly to have their trials, a question rose in the Lords' House whether the bishops ought to be present in cases of blood. The Commons thinking these spiritual lords would be too favourable, took the consideration of it into their House, and were of opinion they ought not to be present. The Lords resented this from the Commons, saying this was a branch of their judicature wherein the Commons had nothing to do to intermeddle. At last the dispute grew very warm on both sides.

May 15. The report being made from the committee of privileges by the chairman to the House of the voidance of my election, it was confirmed by the House, and I lost my session in Parliament. I spoke near half an hour before I went out, showing the unreasonableness of my adversaries' plea, the justice of my own, and the integrity of my principles both as to religion and the Government. The Duke of Albemarle carried me that afternoon to the play, which I had not leisure to take the diversion of for some time.

At this time, the state of the kingdom and government looked very melancholy. The King was poor; the officers of the Crown and the household clamorous for their salaries and wages, which had not been paid for some time. Sir Robert Howard, one of the chief officers of the Exchequer, said in the House of Commons, that there was not money sufficient for bread for the King's family; there were no stores in the magazines, either

for sea or land forces; the garrisons all out of repair, the platforms decayed, the cannon unmounted; the army divided, some for the Duke of York, others against him, and the officers of State the same thing; the Parliament or the major part in a ferment, glad of these public divisions that they might the better clip the prerogative, lessen monarchy, and carry on their private designs; the King and his brother divided, and so followed by the adverse party, who promised if he would grant to comply with them, and disinherit the Duke, they would set him at ease in all other particulars, that he scarcely knew how to refuse.

The Duke of Monmouth, whom the King personally loved very well, was manifestly in the councils against the Duke his uncle; for all his creatures in the House voted against him, and no men more in his esteem than the Earls of Shaftesbury, Essex, and other heads of that cabal. The reason of this was, that though the Duke of Monmouth was very handsome and accomplished as to his outside, his parts were not suitable; and Shaftesbury had persuaded him that were the Duke once disinherited, he had the fairest claim to the crown, either by the King's declaring he was married to his mother, or by his being made legitimate by Act of Parliament. To obviate this, the Duke of York had obtained of the King to declare openly in Council that the Duke of Monmouth was his natural son, and that he was never married to his mother; and yet there were many that did undertake to defend, that a witness was to be produced who was present at that wedding, and that there was a record of it kept in a black box in the custody of some of the Duke of Monmouth's friends.

May 21. The Lords voted that the bishops might be present at the trial of the Lords, and the Commons did commit the bill of exclusion. Upon the question put for the said commitment, there were 240 affirmative, 128

negative. My successor in the House, Sir Godfrey Copley, voted for the bill.

May 23. I was at the King's couchée. I wondered to see him so cheerful amongst so many troubles; but it was not his nature to think much, or to perplex himself. I had the fortune then to say something that pleased the King. My lord Duke of Newcastle, one of the bed-chamber, being in waiting, his grace took this opportunity to say some kind things of me to his Majesty; the King came to me, reassured me of my command, and told me he would stick to his old friends.

May 29. The Lords having voted that they did persist in their opinion that the spiritual lords should be present at the trial of the prisoners, especially of the Earl of Danby, as to the validity of his pardon (which was his plea); and the Commons having voted that the said lords should not be present, and that they would only proceed against that Earl, and not the rest of the prisoners, though the time appointed was come for the trial of them all; the heat grew so great between the two Houses that his Majesty came and told them, that he found not how they could anyways be reconciled, and therefore he prorogued them until the 14th of August. The city of London, where the anti-Court party had a great interest, seemed so angry at this prorogation, that some thought they would have risen; but all, with much ado, kept quiet.

I fell ill that day of the gout in both feet, which I never had so generally before, and it held me till the 12th of June.

The news came of a rising in Scotland, to the number of 7,000 men; that they had burnt several Acts of Parliament, such as the Acts of Uniformity and Episcopacy, and that which took away and condemned the covenant. They set forth a declaration which was for Jesus Christ, the kirk and the covenant. Some troops being ordered

to march against them, were routed. Some more troops were ordered to march against the rebels; amongst others, two regiments of the Duke of Monmouth; and he was ordered to go post into Scotland to head the forces, which he did, and arrived at Edinburgh the 20th of June.

June 22. The King told me he had an account that the two armies were but ten miles from each other, and that his army did not consist of above 1,200 men. The rebels were above 6,000 strong.

I took leave of the King the same day, to go into Yorkshire. His Majesty gave me repeated assurances to keep his promise of continuing the government of Burlington to me, and of having the next independent company that fell, saying that he knew my fidelity and loyalty not by my words, but by my services.

June 23. Came the news that the rebels were defeated in Scotland by the Duke of Monmouth, and that they made a very poor defence.

June 24. I set forward for the North with my wife and nine servants; by the way I had a relapse of the gout. We reached Thrybergh on the 30th.

July 1*st*. I received a letter from my Lord Burlington, who succeeded my lord of Danby in the lieutenancy of the West Riding of Yorkshire, wherein he invited me to York with the rest of the gentlemen of that Riding, whom he designed to make deputy-lieutenants. He had not been formerly so kind to me as my former services in that office (as I thought) deserved; however, I waited upon him, and was prevailed upon to receive a commission for that, as also for a troop of horse, which I had commanded under the Earl of Danby. He complimented me very much as to the benefit he pretended to have by my assistance in that business; and all I found by it was the trouble of penning the orders, and to be called the best versed in business of that kind.

Hearing that the Duke of Monmouth was to be at

Doncaster, post out of Scotland, I went to meet him, and sent half a buck and some extraordinary sorts of wine to entertain him there. He came not in till midnight, when we expected him no more that night. I was got into the bed designed for his grace. Before I could put on my clothes the Duke came in with Sir Thomas Armstrong; they were glad to find something ready to eat. The Duke sat up but a short time, and would not have the sheets changed, but went into the same bed. The next morning he borrowed my coach, that which he designed to get having but four horses, to Bawtry. Sir Thomas Armstrong told me that the King had heard some lies of the Duke, and had sent for him out of Scotland in haste. It was found afterwards that after the victory he was laying foundation for the succession in that kingdom, and making himself popular by the industry of his agents and friends.

At my return from Doncaster my son William fell sick of the smallpox, and escaped the danger very narrowly; but God restored him.

July 11. Several gentlemen of the country came to bowl with me; amongst others Mr. Edmonds and Mr. Batty, the lieutenant and cornet to my troop, who came to offer their continuance in their former commands.

July 12. I heard that the present Parliament was dissolved. I wrote presently to Aldborough, to give my friends notice that I intended to stand as their burgess for the succeeding Parliament.

July 22. The sessions being held at Rotherham, I gave the charge. One Mandevile was indicted for speaking treasonable words of the King. He was a known adversary of mine; I was less severe towards him for it in that place.

July 24. There came twenty-two gentlemen to bowl with me.

July 28. The assizes held at York, where I attended.

There were great factions for choosing knights of the shire. The competitors were the Lord Clifford, Lord Fairfax, and Sir John Kaye. The two first had been for the county in the former Parliament. I inclined to the first and last.

July 30. I went from York to Aldborough. I called the burghers together. It cost me 20*l.* to entertain them, and they gave me hopes to choose me, saying it was a just return for being the author of this popular way of electing.

August 7. The Master of the Cutlers of Hallamshire came and invited me to their feast. They promised me faithfully at the same time to give their votes for knights of the shire as I should direct them; but abused me in it, which I afterwards justly resented.

August 8. I received commissions for myself and the officers of my militia troop.

August 13. I met the deputy-lieutenants at Doncaster, to settle the militia of those parts.

August 20. I went to Aldborough, the writ being arrived and the day of election being appointed by the Sheriff for the 25th of August, where I found that several of my pretended friends had receded from their promises. Indeed, in most of these little boroughs, which consisted of mean and mercenary people, one had no man sure longer than you were with him; and he that made him drunk or obliged him last was his first friend. However, of 66 electors or voters for members of Parliament, there continued 37 firm to me; but the precept being got into Sir Godfrey Copley's and Sir Bryan Stapleton's possession, who joined together against me, I found the return would be made in favour of them, and they would be the sitting members. I therefore contented myself with putting a public affront upon Sir Godfrey Copley, who had done unhandsomely with me in the management of this matter (which he put up with very patiently), and

turned my back on further pretending to stand for burgess for that Parliament.

August 26. Those that stood for knights of the shire in this Parliament were my Lord Fairfax, my Lord Clifford, and Sir John Kaye. The Sectaries and Fanatics stood for the two lords; amongst which my friends at Sheffield, who had been so much obliged to me upon account of their chimney money and other things, did assist, and in opposition to Sir John Kaye, whom I had recommended as my friend; so much at this day did faction prevail above friendship. After this I concerned myself very little for the Sheffieldians. This was the second time that town had proved treacherous to this family; the first was in the beginning of the late civil wars, when my father being the next justice of the peace, and very kind and useful to them (before the breaking out of the war), was the first afterwards whose house they plundered; and we received more injury from that quarter in the war time than from all the rest of the Parliament's army.

At this time the Duke, who had been sent abroad, came home unexpectedly to see the King, who had not been very well, as was pretended. The Duke of Monmouth, who thought he had the King then entirely, knew nothing of it until his highness came to Windsor. And there were not above four people knew of it till he arrived; so close could the King be where he found it necessary. My Lord Feversham, who was the chief instrument in the Duke of York's being recalled, told me afterwards the whole story.

September 4. I went to Welbeck, where the Duke of Newcastle kept me with him four days, though I intended but a short visit. One day we went and dined with the good Earl of Devonshire at Hardwick, where he entertained us before and after dinner with excellent buck-hunting in his park. My Lord Cavendish was

there, and some other persons of quality, who were all of opinion that this Parliament (consisting mostly of the exclusionists that were of the former Parliament) would not last long.

September 14. I went for York to choose knights of the shire, and had ordered my friends that went from this side, and would vote for Sir John Kaye, to meet me at Tadcaster. There appeared about 500 freeholders; but the whole number from several parts that accompanied him into York that day was believed near 6,000. Finding the next day that the polling of so many persons, as appeared on all sides, would prove very tedious, and most chargeable to Sir John Kaye, who stood single against the two lords who joined purses and interests together, I proposed that they should all return home, and the poll be adjourned to the next market towns that lay most convenient for them; naming four for the West Riding, two for the North, and two for the East, with certain days when to appear to be polled. All which was well accepted as well by the gentlemen as the freeholders, whose respective occasions made them glad to be at their own houses, and to do their business nearer.

September 22. Was the day named to poll at Pontefract; my friends that went in with me stayed for me at Ringstone Hill a little longer than ordinary.

That day Sir John Jackson, of Hickleton (the last of his family, and the fourth heir from its first being raised), came to me at Pontefract (there having been some coolness between us before), and told me I had affronted him in bringing in his tenants with me to vote for Sir John Kaye, when he designed to bring them in himself. I answered that I wrote to all (or sent to them) that I thought qualified to vote to come in without regarding who were their landlords; but if he took that ill in his own particular, I was a man to give him what satisfaction he required. But I found him not much inclined to fight, for after

several words he told me that he desired to court neither my friendship nor enmity. Then I told him we were very equal in that particular, for I thought his friendship was very little to be valued, or enmity to be feared; and so we parted.

September 23. I came home to Thrybergh, where I met a present of a wild sort of sheep (which I turned into my park) sent me from the Duke of Newcastle, a great rarity at that time.

September 27. The Duke of Newcastle sent to me to bear him company to Nottingham, to see his castle there, which was almost finished, but chiefly to receive a treaty of marriage which was offered by Sir William Clifton with one of his grace's daughters. The next day the Duke and I dined at Clifton at Sir William's invitation, and all seemed to be agreed; but the match broke off afterwards. Sir William went into France some years after, and died unmarried. Returning with the Duke to Welbeck the day after, we had the news that the King had taken away the Duke of Monmouth's commission of general, and that he was gone for Holland, and that the Duke of York was gone for Flanders; so that no man scarce understood how the King resolved to behave himself between his brother and his son.

October 14. I was at the general quarter sessions held at Barnsley, where I understood that Sir John Kaye had desisted from standing for knight of the shire, and that the two lords would now be chosen without competition.

At this time, the Duke of York being only gone to fetch his Duchess, whom he had left there, returned with his whole court to London from Flanders; and desiring the King that he might rather remain (if he must be absent) in some of his Majesty's dominions, was sent into Scotland.

October 27. Their royal highnesses came in their way northwards, and lay at the Duke of Newcastle's, where I waited upon them, and stayed there at his grace's request to entertain the lords that supped at the second table till midnight, and then went home to receive the Duke with other gentlemen the next day upon his entrance into the county of York, which I did with at least fifty gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The Earl of Strafford and my Lord Castleton met him also, but very poorly attended.

My Lord Shaftesbury was turned out of all councils, and the exclusionists began to despond.

October 23. The Duke and Duchess lay at Pontefract.

October 29. They went to York, where they stayed some days.

There all the loyal gentry waited upon them, and paid them their respects; those of another party were distinguished by not doing it; and the city of York itself received his royal highness and his Duchess but very coldly, which he never forgot afterwards. And one Mr. Thompson, who had taken the fittest house in town to lodge their royal highnesses, was hardly persuaded to quit his house, or to lend it them for so long, and when he did he took away all his furniture.

I took leave of him at York, and my wife of the Duchess, at their going away, where they both thanked us for our respects towards them. Indeed, I had presented his highness with venison and wines, and entertained some of his favourites at my house in York, but it was not worthy of his notice. His highness further assured me that at his return he would show me some marks of his friendship.

November 5. Being the night before the Duke left York, he gave a supper, and made all those gentlemen that had attended upon him in his journey, and lords of

his own retinue, to sit down with him at the table, and was very merry.

I was told that day by a gentleman who had been in company with Sir John Jackson the day before, that I was to prepare myself to expect a challenge from that knight; for he had laid a wager with this gentleman of a guinea, that he would send me one that day before three o'clock. This person lay that he durst not do it; but I presume the gentleman won, for I heard nothing of him, till some weeks after, when I was told he was dead.

Soon after the Duke of Monmouth returned out of Flanders, where he was sent by the King, without his Majesty's leave, which extremely displeased the King, in so much as he divested him of all his employments.

December 20. About this time the Parliament was prorogued to the 11th of November next following.

I kept Christmas at Thrybergh, with the usual solemnity.

1680.

March. I received orders from the Lord Lieutenant to meet the rest of the deputy-lieutenants at Pontefract, where we took some care to have the militia put into some order, to be in more than usual readiness.

Soon after I heard the Duke and Duchess were come to London, sent for from Scotland by the King; that the two brothers met very kindly, and that the King said that nobody should separate them hereafter.

March 10. I went to Welbeck, where the Duke of Newcastle gave me a letter to the Duke of Albemarle in a matter of concern. I went from thence to Rufford, where my Lord Halifax was come from Court, and angry with the measures then taken.

March 15. I was at York Assizes.

March 19. I had a fit of the gout in my knee, which lasted three days.

April 1. I went for London; my chief business was to get the 300*l.* arrears due to me for mine and my company's pay ever since we were disbanded, and to get my government continued; but the Duke having now the applications of all men, being fair with the King, and the Duke of Monmouth removed, made him find less leisure to hear or to assist his friends. Nor indeed was it then to be hoped to obtain the latter, the King being every day rather retrenching than increasing his charge; that he might have less occasion for his Parliament, which he despaired then to find in good humour if it should be called.

There were great meetings of persons dissatisfied with the Court, where they laid their heads together to oppose that interest wherever the King's occasions required assistance, were it in Parliament or elsewhere. These were called cabals. The Duke of Monmouth, my Lord Shaftesbury, my Lord Russell, my Lord Cavendish amongst others, were the principal that assisted in these meetings, which changed from house to house for more privacy every night; the public outcry and pretence of fears being popery and the King's safety.

The King and Duke being at Windsor, came only to London once a week to council. I got some friends to speak to the King for me, but it had no success.

April 26. I went to Sir Thomas Player and Sir Gilbert Gerard, two of the commissioners for disbanding the late army. They told me they had paid all the money, and had none left in their hands to satisfy my arrear; but I so ordered the matter with them, partly by fair means and partly by threats, that they paid me sixty pounds, and, as they pretended, out of their own purses.

May 8. I went to Windsor, where I told the Duke a piece of news of a design laid by some persons to prove the King's marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and the way to obviate it; for which he thanked me, and told me, without asking it, that he had spoken to

the Master of the Ordnance in my business. The King there showed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was very fine, and what he intended to do more; for it was then that he was finishing that excellent structure. The King lived very privately at this time; there was little resort to him, and he passed his days in fishing or walking in the park; which, indeed, he naturally loved more than to be in a crowd or in business.

May 9. I gave his highness a copy of the deposition which one had made concerning the business of the King's marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and by mistake I gave him in the same a bill of exchange for 148*l.* The next day (when I thought I had lost it) he returned it to me laughing, and said I had trusted him with that sum. I answered that I was very glad it had fallen into such good hands. He spoke at the same time to my Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State, for me, but that lord was not so kind to me as I hoped our old acquaintance deserved. He and the Duchess of Portsmouth had at that time great power with the King, but the Duke the most of any.

May 10. I came back to London. The Duke of Holstein's envoy returned with me in my coach. I there understood that Mrs. Honora Brown (my wife her only sister) was ill of a dropsy, and that some bad acquaintance, who had got into her good opinion, and estranged her from her relations, had not only wasted a great part of her fortune, but had persuaded her to settle the remainder of it by will upon them.

May 15. I returned to Windsor, and understood that my Lord Sunderland had spoken to the King, and that his Majesty had referred the matter of continuing the government of Burlington, and paying the arrear of my salary of 200*l.* per annum, to the lords of the treasury. I thanked the Duke and his lordship for this favour, but found the thing was very likely to be so tedious, and my

business was so pressing at home, that I resolved to leave it to a fitter opportunity, and so desired his highness to give me his commands for the country. He thanked me for my respects, and bid me continue my kindness to him, assuring me he would befriend me where it lay in his power. I gave him my assurance of all service and duty; and then told him I was desirous to be obliged to nobody but himself, and therefore begged that when he had an opportunity he would speak to the King to send me envoy extraordinary to some Prince or Court, which his Majesty had formerly promised to do for me, provided his highness thought me fit for an employment. He replied that he believed that I was qualified for it, and that he would certainly remind the King of it.

May 17. I took leave of the King, who had some fits of an ague, but was recovered. He laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said that he was very sensible of my services, and they should be recompensed. I put him in mind of his promise to send me abroad, and told him my lord of Bath was present when he was pleased to make it. The King told me he remembered it particularly, and would perform it upon the first occasion. I still pursued, however, the continuance of my government at Burlington, but not successfully, the business of Tangiers—viz., the sending over of men to defend it against the Moors—and the charge of the Mole, took up all the money and the statesmen's thoughts at this time. However, I continued my commission, but with no money.

June 2. I took leave of my lord of Danby in the Tower, where meeting my lord of Bath, my lord of Danby's brother-in-law, he engaged him to solicit these concerns for me to the King.

The same day, being sent for by my wife her sister, I went to visit her, and found her very weak in bed. She did not tell me how she had settled her portion, only desired me to lend her money, which I presumed would

never be restored; but, however, I did accommodate with some guineas.

June 3. I began my journey for Yorkshire in my own coach, but before I writ this letter to his royal highness, which was delivered by a friend:—

'May it please your Highness,

'Being prevented of waiting upon your Highness by my sudden departure to give you an account of the establishments, as to gunners in other garrisons, I presume to do it this way; and to acquaint your Royal Highness that all governments (Burlington only excepted) have at the least two gunners each. This, Sir, makes me the more confident to desire that I may not meet with a particular discouragement by being denied the same establishment for that place, because the refusal of it may lessen the credit which I am ambitious to preserve in the world, for his Majesty's and your Highness's service; and of being yet thought worthy of continuing in that little command that am,

' May it please your Highness,

' Yours, J. R.'

June 8. I got home to Thrybergh. I found all things there in order, by the conduct of a discreet wife.

July 5. We held a private sessions at Rotherham, and that day I had news that my wife her sister was dead, that those that had preyed upon her whilst she lived had got as much as they could of her estate that remained after her death, and had obliged her to make a will and to dispose of it to them. But with much trouble and suit afterwards, I got some 300*l.* clear, besides charges.

July 20. The general sessions was held at Rotherham, where I gave the charge.

July 23. I mustered my troop, and exercised it at Rotherham. It quartered there three days.

July 24. The assizes were held at York, where there was a very great appearance of gentry and others; some for business, but more for curiosity, several persons of quality being there, to be tried for high treason, for being of the Popish Plot. Many had been tried in London, and found guilty on the evidence of Oates, Bedloe, and others. And the persons to be tried here being of the county and of the place where it was said they conspired, were the Lady Tempest, daughter of Sir Thomas Gascoigne; Mr. Ingleby, a lawyer (since made a sergeant), Mrs. Presset, and one Mr. Twing, a priest. Sir Miles Stapleton, of Carleton, was to have been tried also, but was not then *pro defecta juratorum.*

The evidence against these were Boldron and Mawbray. The one was taken a poor boy out of charity by Sir Thomas Gascoigne, brought up in his house, then made overseer of his colliery, and running in debt to his master, intended (for he had been evidence also against him) to pay him and his family this way what he owed to him—an ill piece of gratitude. Though some had been found guilty in London upon this or the like evidence, yet it found so little credence in this county, that three of the four were acquitted, as also one Pickering, who was indicted for being a priest upon the same evidence. So that Twing only was found guilty of high treason—a priest being more his guilt, than the plot.

One Mr. Tankard being of the jury, and appearing active to clear the prisoner, the judge reflected upon him in court, which, being a man of spirit, he was not able to bear; and complaining to me, I advised him to get some gentlemen of the county, his friends, together, and offered myself to attend them to the judge, to represent him another sort of man than he took him to be. There met upon this occasion above twenty gentlemen, amongst

which were my Lord Fairfax, and many others of the first rank, who all agreed that I should speak for them to the judge. We went all in a body, and I delivered their sense to the judge in such manner concerning the gentleman's worth and reputation, that the judge was willing to ask him pardon openly in Court the next day, which he took for sufficient reparation.

A petition was offered this assizes to the grand jury from some of the anti-Court party for the sitting of the Parliament, in the name of the whole county. One Mr. Darcy being of the grand jury, instead of receiving the petition, tore it in pieces; and the next day there met at least fifty gentlemen who desired me to draw up something to express an abhorrence of such proceedings (the King being the only fit judge when Parliament ought to sit). I drew it, and all the gentlemen subscribed it; the judge was sent to, and made acquainted with it by the high sheriff, and desired to make it known to his Majesty, which he did accordingly. The King took it well, but we were complained of for it in the House of Commons the next session of Parliament, and got off very hardly.

August 1. I returned to Thrybergh, and the same day I put the deer at large into the additional park.

August 9. I was at Doncaster by the direction of the Queen's Council to take an examination of some persons that had reflected on her Majesty. I received a letter the same day from Sir John Worden, secretary to the Duke, of his highness's thanks for the account I had given of the proceedings at the assizes at York.

August 21. In my return from Buxton, where I went on the eleventh for my wife's health, I returned by Chatsworth, where the good Lord Devonshire received me with great kindness. I sent my wife the direct way, and met her at Sheffield, where the Corporation of Cutlers, and some principal men of the town, hearing that I was to

pass that way, came to me at my inn, and with great importunity prevailed with me, notwithstanding their late ingratitude (for in a neighbourhood where Providence hath placed one to live, and one's family to abide, as one that hath power must sometimes resent ill things, so one must sometimes forgive) to receive a treat they had prepared for me then; as also to dine at their feast a week after, or thereabouts.

August 28. I went with my wife and family to the Cutlers' feast at Sheffield with some neighbours; I took with me the number of near thirty horse. The Master and wardens, attended by an infinite crowd, met me at the entrance into the town with music and hautboys. I alighted from my coach, and went afoot with the Master to the hall, where we had an extraordinary dinner; but this was at the charge of the Corporation of Cutlers. In the afternoon the burgesses of the town invited me and all my company to a treat of wine at a tavern, where we were very well entertained. So that all things seemed indifferently well over at this time.

August 30. I went and dined with the Duke of Newcastle at Welbeck, who met me upon the stairs in the court. He received me with great kindness, and opened himself very freely to me in several concerns of his own and the public. I lay that night at Rufford, with my Lord Halifax. I found his lordship more favourable than heretofore in relation to Court matters, but not thoroughly reconciled, and very implacable to my lord of Danby, whose friend he knew me to be. But I sufficiently satisfied him by some discourse I then had with him, that I was never so much that lord's friend as to be less his.

September 2. I had the news that one Bedloe, a principal evidence in the Popish Plot, was dead.

September 3. The Duke and Duchess of Newcastle came and dined at Thrybergh. I entertained them the

best I could, and his grace liked my wine and drank freely of it.

September 6. I went as far as Booth ferry, intending a visit to the Earl of Burlington at Lanesborough; and having passed the ferry, as I was going out of the boat, a horse turning suddenly in the boat threw me down, so that I fell out of the boat with my elbow upon the shore, and put my shoulder out of joint. There happened a bone-setter to live at Howden, who presently came and reduced it. I lay at Howden that night, and returned homewards the next day. It was half a year before it was perfectly well. No man had scarce more misfortunes than I of this kind, yet it pleased God to restore me after them all.

The last of September I went for London by Cambridge to see my brother Yarburgh Reresby, fellow of St. John's; I passed also by Newmarket, where the King then was. I went from thence to Bury, to visit my aunt Monson, so that it was the 14th before I got to London

October 16. It was again discoursed that the Duke of York was to depart before the meeting of the Parliament; some said to obey the King, others to avoid the violence of both Houses; for it was plain that the papists were very bold, being supported by the Duke's interest with the King, and he being at this time the chief manager and director of affairs.

October 21. The Duke and Duchess took their leaves of the King, and began their voyage by sea for Scotland. The night before their departure I kissed his highness's hand, told him I was sorry some small pretensions I was troubled with had succeeded no better, but I did not blame his highness in the least, &c. He told me I had no reason, for he had done what he could do for me, and would still do so.

October 22. The Parliament met. The King, amongst other particulars of his speech, told them that they should

do what they could devise for the security of the Protestant religion, provided they did not offer to divert the direct line of the succession.

October 28. My Lord Ogle, only son of the Duke of Newcastle, died, who, had he lived, would have been the greatest subject for estate of the kingdom, being married to the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Northumberland, since re-married to the Duke of Somerset.

This month and the next the Commons proceeded to frame a bill to exclude the Duke from the succession, notwithstanding his Majesty's direction against it. And those gentlemen of Yorkshire and others, which had counter-petitioned or declared their abhorrence to the late tumultuary petitioning for the Parliament's sitting, were voted betrayers of the liberties of the people and abettors of arbitrary power. A committee was also appointed to inquire in that matter, and after, the persons that were concerned in it; and two members of that House, both of Yorkshire, that signed that abhorrence, were convened before the committee; but I had penned it so carefully, that no great exceptions could be taken at it, and so they got off.

I now took a house in Leicester Fields by the year.

November 5. The Parliament pursued the Duke so violently, and the King was in so great want of money, that some believed he would abandon his brother.

November 7. Attending at the King's supper, I told him I was threatened by some of the House of Commons to be called to an account for writing the abhorrence, and signing of it with the rest of the Yorkshire gentlemen. He answered me thus: 'Do not trouble yourself; I will stick by you, and my old friends; for if I do not, I shall have nobody to stick by me.' Yet, a great many feared he would not, for the want of money was so pressing, and the offers of Parliament men so fair, if he would

relinquish his brother, that nobody seemed secure which way he would bend. That which made people the more jealous was that several that were well in the King's esteem appeared for the Bill of Exclusion; and the Duchess of Portsmouth was known to incline to it, whether cunningly to gain the good opinion of that party (that were before her greatest enemies), or to comply with the French, whose tool she was—for they were for anything that would disturb us in England—is uncertain.

November 12. Being at the Duchess of Portsmouth's with the King, he was very free in his discourse concerning the witnesses of the Popish Plot, making it clearly appear that several things which they gave in evidence were not only improbable, but impossible.

November 14. Was one of the greatest days ever known in the House of Lords, as the matter was extraordinary, viz. cutting off the lineal descent of the Crown; for the bill having passed the Commons, they had sent it up to the Lords. So was also the debate. There was a great party in that House for the passing of the bill; and great speakers, of which the chief was the Earl of Shaftesbury. The chief manager against it was the Earl of Halifax, which was a great surprise to many, he having gone along with my Lord Shaftesbury and that interest for some years; but this not being agreeable to his judgment, he opposed it vigorously; and having a great deal of wit, and both judgment, and eloquence with it, he made so fine and so powerful a defence, that he alone (for so all confessed) persuaded the whole House against it, so that after the debate had lasted ten hours, the question being put whether the bill should pass that House, it was carried in the negative.

The King was so well pleased with this day's work, that he soon after took this great lord (for indeed, considering all, he was the greatest in parts I ever knew) into business. And the Commons at the same time were so

angry at him, that though they could not regularly take notice of what any man said in the other House, they voted and sent an address to the King to desire that he might be laid aside, or removed from his councils and presence. They made his having advised the dissolution of the last Parliament the cause of this address, but the true reason was known. The answer his Majesty gave to this was, that if the Lord Halifax had done anything contrary to law, let him be prosecuted and punished accordingly; but he was not satisfied that he had, and therefore would not part with him, or to that purpose. One would think that so signal a piece of service as this could never have been forgotten by the Duke; yet, when he came to be King, he removed him from Lord Privy Seal, where he found him, to Lord President of the Council, to make room for another, and afterwards laid him quite aside.

November 22. I was in discourse a long while with his Majesty. I told him, amongst other things, that I doubted much whether I should be taken notice of in the list which the Lords had voted to be given in to them, of all military officers, there being at present neither company nor gunner at Burlington to make it appear a garrison. If I was, I presumed I should be put into the number of such as that House intended to petition his Majesty to lay aside from their employments. He answered, let them do what they would, but he would never part with any officer at the request of either House; for his father had lost his head by that compliance, but as for him, he would die another way.

November 24. My Lord Halifax told me that he had no ways deserved this heat of the Commons against him. I said he ought not to be concerned, for he had got more friends by it than he had lost that would stick by him. He said he would venture his life with those friends. There was some tampering, but privately, to make a

divorce by Act of Parliament between the King and the Queen; but I dare say without the King's approbation.

November 25. A gentleman told me—one Rombal, that had been consul in Spain—that he could be a good witness in Parliament to annul the marriage, should that matter come on; for he could prove not only from reputation, but more notorious evidence, that her condition of health would not allow her to have children when she was married to the King. I persuaded him to give it in writing, which he did; and I confess I gave it to my Lord Clarendon (the Queen's gentleman of her house), that such practices might be prevented, and such authors of them discouraged.

November 28. I went to wait on my Lord Halifax, who, after the great service he had lately done the Crown in casting out the Bill of Exclusion of the House of Lords, was looked upon as the rising man and first favourite. He carried me with him in his coach to Whitehall; the next day he invited me to dinner with him in private. He told me it was to be feared some unhappy differences might arise in the nation from these disputes about the succession; and in case it should come to a war, it might be convenient to form something of a party in one's thoughts. He told me that he knew very well there was but one other and myself that had any considerable interest in my neighbourhood; asked me my opinion how their inclinations stood. I told him I had an account in writing of all men of note thereabouts, and would wait upon him the next day with their names and characters. I did so, and he did agree with me that the loyal interest was not only much more numerous, but consisted of more wealthy and active men; and that those who were so busy in Parliament against the Court, were men of little power or esteem in their country.

November 30. Began the trial of Lord Stafford by his peers in Westminster Hall, which was the most solemn

thing I ever saw, and great was the expectation of its issue; it being doubtful at that time whether there were more that believed there was a plot to take away the King's life by the papists, or not. The trial was by way of impeachment by the Commons, and they chose this lord to try first, believing him weaker than the other lords then in the Tower for that crime, and so less able to make his defence. However, he pleaded for himself to a miracle. The three chief witnesses against him were Dr. Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. The first swore he had brought him a commission, signed by the pope, to be paymaster of the army to be raised against the King; the second, that his lordship offered him five hundred pounds to kill the King; the third, that he had offered him a reward for the same thing, but at another time. They seemed so positive in this and other dangerous evidence, that myself that sat and heard most of the trial knew not what to believe, had the evidence been men of any credit; but such incoherences, and indeed contradictions in my judgment, appeared towards the latter end of the trial, that for my own part I was satisfied at last of its untruth. However the party was so strong that pursued the cause against him more than the man, that he was voted guilty, there being 54 lords affirmative, and 32 for negative or not guilty. He heard his accusers, and defended himself with great resolution, and received his sentence with no less courage, which stayed by him till he laid his head on the block, protesting his innocence to the very last. My Lord Halifax was one of the 32 lords, and the King, that heard all the trial, seemed extremely concerned at his hard and undeserved fate.

The two Houses were now very busy: that of the Lords to form a Bill of Comprehension for all Protestant dissenters, but to bring them within the privilege of the law, by indulgence to tender consciences; the Commons to frame an Act of Security greater than what the law yet provided against papists.

December 18. Being at my Lord Halifax's house, I saw the French ambassador come in privately, which was some surprise, for he came after business, it being then unknown that his lordship set up for chief minister. The same day it was asked of the Commons what they would do for the King after so long sitting to no effect in the matters the King required of them. It was answered, and by a vote of that House, that they would put his Majesty into a condition to defend Tangiers, would pay off all his debts, put the fleet into good condition, and make him able to assist his allies, provided he would grant their petitions in relinquishing the Duke his brother, pass an Act for the more frequent meeting of Parliaments, and change such officers about him as that House should nominate. Some believed that the King would be tempted to comply; but the next day my Lord Halifax told me there was no probability of it, for that it was like offering a man money to cut off his nose, which a man would not suffer for a greater sum.

The same day my Lord Stafford came to the House of Lords, and was admitted under the hope that he had something to discover or confess of the Popish Plot; but instead of that he protested his innocence, and accused my Lord Shaftesbury for keeping correspondence with the papists, and for sending him to the Duke of York to desire him to use his interest with the King to dissolve the long Parliament, as the best thing to be done for the popish interest.

December 22. The Duke of Newcastle spoke for me to the Duke of Albemarle in a concern which had no effect. I dined the same day with Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor of London.

December 24. I was at the King's going to bed. There were but four present; and his Majesty being in good humour, spent some time upon the subject of showing the cheat of such as pretended to be more holy and

devout than others, and said they were generally the greatest knaves. He gave us several examples of them, and named some eminent men of the present age, and some mitred heads, which he proved not the best for passing for the most devout and pious. But these were some of them men that the King had no reason to love upon a politic account. He was that night two hours putting off his clothes, and it was half an hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed extremely free from trouble or care, though at a time one would have thought he was under a great deal; for everybody guessed that he must either dismiss the Parliament in a few days, or give himself up to what they desired.

December 25. The Duke of Newcastle came to visit me; we had a long discourse of present affairs, and nobody could tell which way things would go.

December 26. I received the sacrament at the hands and in the chapel of that excellent man, Doctor Gunning, Bishop of Ely. There came and received with us Doctor Oates, the famous evidence of the Popish Plot. We dined together afterwards at the bishop's table, where the doctor, blown up with the hopes of running down the Duke, spoke of him and his family after a manner which showed himself both a fool and a knave. He reflected not only on him personally, but upon the Queen his mother, and her present Majesty, till nobody daring to contradict him, for fear of being made a party to the plot, I at last did undertake to do it, and in such a manner that he left the room in some heat. The bishop told me this was his usual discourse, and that he had checked him formerly for taking so indecent a liberty; but he found it was to no purpose.

December 29. My Lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, where he absolutely denied the crimes for which he suffered, and after so convincing a manner, that all that saw him believed it. I dined the same day

with my Lord Halifax. He said to me, 'Well, if it come to a war, you and I must go together.' I told his lordship I was one that was ready to follow him, whatever happened; but that if the King expected his friends to be hearty and steady to him, he ought to encourage them a little more, acquainted him with some of my disappointments at Court after several promises, and told him I should be glad that his Majesty would send me envoy to some part of the world. He replied, 'We must have you in business; we have need of such men as you nearer home.'

CHAPTER VIII.

The Commons proceed against the King's chief Advisers—Halifax's private Views on the matter—Danby's Opinion of the King—Laurence Hyde, Lord Rochester—The Doncaster Postmaster killed by Lord Eglinton—Conduct of Lord Halifax—A new Parliament—Negotiations about Aldborough—A Journey with the Duke of Newcastle—At Rufford—Halifax's Opinion of Affairs—Pontefract and Aldborough Elections—The Duke of Newcastle's Jealousy of Halifax—Lord Elland—Yorkshire Petition against the Duke of York—The Parliament at Oxford—Arguments for and against the Bill of Exclusion—Impeachment of Fitzharris—The two Houses at variance—Dissolution—Threatened Seizure of the King—Reresby in high Favour—Bold Opposition to the Government—The just and gracious Prince—Reresby's Illness—Promise of the Government of York—Lord Frescheville—Country Visits and Duties—A loyal Address from Sheffield—Popularity of the Duke in Scotland—With the King at Newmarket—Halifax on Public Affairs—Successes of the King of France—Anti-Court Influence in the City—Charles's Remark thereon—Nevison the Highwayman—Sir Henry Goodricke as Ambassador in Spain—Shaftesbury and the Ministers—Reresby made Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster—Halifax and the Duchess—Shaftesbury set at Liberty—Rejoicings of the Rabble—The Papists in Westminster—Disgrace of Monmouth—Halifax on the Duke of York—The Earl of Argyll—Reresby seeks Employment abroad.

1681.

January 4. The King returned an answer to the House of Commons, that he still persisted in the same resolution, not to consent to disherison of the Crown, but would have it continue in the same line. This angered them so much that it caused them to pass some violent votes against such as they took to be the chief advisers of the King in this matter, as the Earls of Halifax, Clarendon, Feversham, the Marquis of Worcester, and Mr. Hyde, since Lord Rochester. The Parliament was prorogued upon this from the 10th to the 20th of January; some

thought it was in order to dissolve them, others lay wagers the King would let them sit at the time and pass the bill. The same day waiting on the Lord Halifax, he complained of the unjust severity of the Commons against him in their vote, which was that he was a promoter of popery and betrayer of the liberties of the people. He said that were a man never so innocent, it coming from the representatives of the people, it was too heavy for any single person to bear; therefore, he had thoughts to retire from Court, but that he would go his own pace, and not just be kicked out when they pleased. And in case the King should at any time have occasion to use him in what was just, he should be ready to serve him; that as to my particular, if I would trust him, he would tell me when it was time to appear for the King's service; that I should run the same fortune with him, for I was one that the Government ought to be glad to have in business, with very kind expressions more than I deserved. At the same time he complained of the unsteadiness of the King's temper, that whilst he seemed to approve the counsel you gave him, he hearkened to other counsels at a back door, which made him wavering and slow to resolve. He promised, however, to obtain of the King to get a gunner established at Burlington fort.

January 11. I waited on my Lord Danby in the Tower. He complained to me of the uncertainty of the King's humour. He said that though the Duke of York had but little power with him as to himself, yet any minister would find he had the most interest, as to any other person or concern; and that he defied any minister about him to find out when the Parliament would sit, or what he would do when it met, though they should know what he said. The Duke of Newcastle told me that day that he was to wait on the King the next day, and that he believed his Majesty would wish him to take some employment upon him; but he said the King did not

offer it at a better time, and he would not accept it in so dangerous a one as this was. This confirmed to me what my Lord Halifax said some days before, that the King's changeableness and silence in affairs at that time made people fear to serve him.

January 13. The city of London petitioned the King by their Common Council for the sitting of Parliament at the appointed time. The King's answer was, that was not their business.

January 15. The Duke of Newcastle told me that the King had spoken to him to the same purpose he imagined, and that he said he would speak further to him when Halifax and he were together. His grace told me further that he had been discoursing my Lord Halifax concerning me, and that he had told his lordship that he loved me better than he did.

January 18. I dined with the Earl of Burlington, who told me this Parliament would be dissolved, and a new one called to sit at Oxford the 15th of March. My Lord Halifax seemed averse to this dissolution; but it was but a pretence, for he had no reason to wish that Parliament long lived that had used him with such freedom. He was jealous also that my Lord of Danby would come out of the Tower, and be received again into councils. If that happened, he resolved to retire, and advised me not to press to be in employment till things were upon another foot.

My lord Duke of Newcastle acquainted me with the intended dissolution, which he had from my lord of Danby, which made him believe he was yet in the councils. His grace took it ill from my Lord Halifax, that he had said nothing of this matter to him, saying it was not using him like a brother. The truth was my Lord Halifax did so overtop the other in all qualifications of mind that he did not make him much his confidant in anything, or that his sense deserved it. When this dissolution hap-

pened, it was believed my Lord Danby would be released upon the King's pardon.

January 20. I told my Lord Halifax I had considered of his advice not to enter at present into public employment as things stood, and that I had great deference for his opinion in all things; but I thought it might be convenient as to my private concern as soon as could be, and not of prejudice to me in relation to the public. For as to my own interest I was under an obligation to be much in town, and had already taken a house there for the advantage of my children in their education; and the profit as well as credit of an employment there would be of double use to me at that time. As to the objections that men of estates ran some hazards to take business upon them at this time, I answered that danger did not appear at present, and it was time enough to retire when it did. And then there was some credit to quit an office from principles of honour and conscience, and to show the world at the same time that a man was thought worthy to be employed and trusted in his generation. His lordship said he was satisfied with my reasons, and would do me what favour he could to obtain it.

January 21. I went and dined with him that day. He told me he was not at all dissatisfied with the King, but feared the Duke's prevalency with the King would carry things too far.

For himself he seemed to hold his resolution to retire, but said Mr. Hyde (since Lord Rochester), chief commissioner of the treasury, and his particular friend, should be ready to serve me when any vacancy of value happened.

January 22. His lordship went the next day for the country. I waited upon him as far as Hatfield.

January 23. I waited upon my Lord Hyde (for he was made so about this time), who said my Lord Halifax had recommended me to him in so particular a manner that he would serve me in what he could. I returned

him my thanks, and owned the obligations I had to my Lord Halifax for doing me so great an honour. I assured him that if it was my good fortune to be received into his Majesty's service by his kindness, or otherwise, I would perform it with all the faithfulness that could be; but that this would cost him a double trouble: first to find the employment, and then to gain it for me. He promised to use his endeavours for both.

January 24. I heard one Maddox, whom I made postmaster at Doncaster some time before, was then murdered by my Lord Eglinton, a Scotch lord, that had run him through the body, upon a quarrel at play, as he was sitting in a chair. I went and desired my Lord Feversham to beg his estate of the King for him and me, if it proved forfeited, which his Majesty readily granted, but he afterwards obtained his pardon both for life and estate.

January 25. I obtained the postmaster's place for Jack Maddox, his younger brother, who was quartermaster of my militia troop.

January 26. As I went with the Duke of Newcastle to visit the Duke of Albemarle, he said that he thought my Lord Halifax had done wisely to withdraw himself, for this would abate the odium conceived against him by Lord Shaftesbury and his party, when they saw the same measures pursued when he was not in councils; and that he had given him advice to do so. I confess I had advised him to stay; for if he went off not dissatisfied, but returned again to Court, the world would say that his counsels were followed though he was absent; and so he might bear the blame for counsels that were not his own.

The discourse being now warm for a new Parliament, I asked the King if he would have me to stand to be a member of it.

I showed his Majesty a letter at the same time from Mr. Tankard, whereby he promised his assistance at

Aldborough in that service. The King pressed me to go down to stand, but I told his Majesty the other gentleman would stand if I did not, who was an honest gentleman and much disposed to his service. Then he left it to my own choice. His Majesty then promised me a good living for my youngest brother, and a fellowship at Manchester when void, but neither succeeded.

January 30. The King began to remove from Court some few officers that were in with the exclusionists; but that lasted not long; for though he loved neither them nor their proceedings, it was not in his nature to do harsh things long; though my Lord Ailesbury, the chancellor of the exchequer, assured me it would go on.

February 4. I had a letter from Mr. Tankard that he had no mind to stand for Parliament man this time, therefore desired me pressingly to come down and accept of his interest, which at last I accepted.

February 5. I took leave of Mr. Hyde, who promised me all the good offices he could as to what he had promised my Lord Halifax upon my account.

The same day the Duke of Newcastle spoke very kindly to the King of me.

February 7. I took the opportunity of going down to the country with his grace, who desired my company; and gave me room in his first coach with himself and Duchess, and treated me and my servants all the way. He travelled indeed like a great prince, with three coaches, and about forty attendants on horseback. He was too obliging to me in that journey in forcing me to accept the second chamber wherever we lodged, before his own daughters. The house being narrow the third night where we lay (for we were five days going between London and Newark), I stole out of the house and went to another inn; but his grace came himself for me and brought me back, and sent out his own people. He unbosomed himself to me in this journey. Though he was

a true servant to the Crown, he liked not the measures then on foot, and thought the times but slippery.

February 12. At Newark I took leave of his grace, where I had appointed a chariot to meet me from Thrybergh, though I had brought a led horse with me all the way. I went by the way of Rufford, and stayed with my Lord Halifax till the next day. His lordship told me the King would not call a Parliament so speedily as was believed; that the King was slow to resolve where any difficulty arose. That he intended to go to Parliament whenever it assembled; but that afterwards he would leave the Court and business, except his Majesty would be advised to do such things as were for the public good, change some officers about him, and take such in their room as would act according to the present councils. For it would ruin all if his Majesty continued to advise with those of one interest this day, and hearken to those of another to-morrow; nor could his ministers be safe under such uncertainties. And if he would be advised, it was in the King's power to make all his opponents tremble. In fine, he told me a great part of his thoughts, and made me many professions of friendship.

February 13. My lord, though he was brother-in-law by marriage to the Duke of Newcastle, yet thought it fitter to treat with him by a third hand in the affair of marrying his eldest son, my Lord Elland, to my lady Catherine, the Duke's third daughter, and therefore desired me to recommend it to his grace. I did so upon the terms my Lord Halifax desired, which was to have 15,000*l.* portion with the lady. The Duke was not averse to the match, but to the conditions; he would not part with ready money, but was content that his estate should be divided amongst his daughters at his death; but that pleased not the Earl of Halifax, so that nothing was agreed on at that time.

February 15. I went for Aldborough, and in my way thither at Ferrybridge I met an express sent by the borough to invite me to come over, with a promise to choose me for one of their burgesses in Parliament. I stayed there that night, being stopped by the waters; and the next day I was at Pontefract, where Sir John Dawnay, Sir Patience Ward, and Sir John Kaye were candidates for Parliament men there, and that the day of election. The two first were chosen, and the last was outvoted.

February 17. I came to Aldborough, when I found Sir Godfrey Copley, who stood by Mr. Wentworth's interest. He had been very pressing to obtain the possession of the precept, that they might go to election, fearing I should set up some other to defeat him; but the sheriff would not part with it till I came. Sir Richard Graham was then high sheriff of the county; my particular friend, one that I had been intimate with both in France and Italy.

February 20. The election was made of Sir Godfrey Copley and me for burgesses in the ensuing Parliament without any competition. The charge of it in treating electors, and several gentlemen that came to see me, cost me 43*l.*

February 21. The next day being Sunday, I went and lay at the High Sheriff's, who lived not far from Aldborough.

February 23. I returned to Thrybergh, where I found my five fine boys in good health; two indeed were at Rotherham school, the three others at home. Some days passed in looking into my business and taking my accounts (which I always endeavoured to do exactly), in making and receiving visits from my neighbours. One day ten gentlemen came and dined with me at once; that day we made a debauch.

February 25. I received congratulations by letters

from the Duke of Newcastle and the Marquis of Halifax upon the subject of my election (my lord, I think, was then made marquis).

March 5. I went towards London, taking Welbeck in my way. I found myself ill three days before of a cold, which did end in a pain in my right side, like a stitch. I apprehended a pleurisy, for which I let blood, and was better after it. The Duke entertained me with telling me all his concerns, and by some part of his discourse I discovered that he was jealous of my lord Marquis of Halifax, in the particulars of getting a better interest in the country than himself, and of having a better at Court also; for he had lately obtained of the King to make Sir John Dawnay a Scotch viscount, when his grace had been labouring to obtain that honour for his brother Cheney without success. He showed me a letter at the same time from my Lord Sunderland, wherein he complained in divers respects of my Lord Halifax (for though the latter married the sister of the other, they were at variance), and particularly for cheating him (as he called it) of 25,000*l.*; for Sir John Dawnay (then Lord Downe) had promised him to get him his patent, by the hand of my Lord Halifax, which he obtained to pass by another interest, and kept the money to himself. But my Lord Halifax gave a different account of it. When I took leave, the Duke desired to know if I wanted anything by his means to the King, that he would interest himself there for me the best he could. As to the business of giving his daughter the Lady Catherine to my Lord Elland, I found him infinitely averse to it, upon the subject of paying ready money for a portion. He told me his Duchess was more averse to it than himself. I spoke to her of it myself, and found it very true. However, at the last he told me the thing might not be impossible in a little time, if my Lord Halifax would take 9,000*l.* of his money, and an assignment of 6,000*l.* due to him from the

King; but he would first see my Lord Elland, for he heard he was very debauched.

March 6. I went that day to Rufford, where I acquainted the Marquis with what had passed, only in general that he might know how to govern himself better with such a man. But he told me that the Duke was of so changeable and jealous an humour that it was not possible to keep friendly with him. I told my lord nothing of what my Lord of Danby had written to his grace concerning my Lord Downe, for that would rather have improved their enmity than their friendship. My lord told me some began to question whether or no the King would continue constant to his brother, or take part with the Duke of Monmouth, who was now treating to make his peace.

March 7. I went to Nottingham towards London, where I took the stage-coach for myself; my servants rode on horseback.

March 11. I reached London, where I found all well under the care and management of a prudent wife.

March 21. Having settled some affairs there, I went to Oxford.

March 22. I kissed the King's hand, who received me kindly. I acquainted him that I had directions from several gentlemen of the county that they had no interest or part in the petition offered to the knights of the shire of Yorkshire at their election, to prosecute the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York; and that it was only six or seven factious persons that had managed that business, though it passed for a more general thing. His Majesty answered that he had received some short account already to the same purpose, and bid me return his thanks to those that did not interest themselves in that concern.

March 23. The Parliament met. The Court was at Christchurch. The Commons sat in the schools, but were

much straitened for room, there being a very great appearance of Parliament men. His Majesty's speech to both Houses was very gracious, endeavouring to heal all differences and to remove all jealousies as to religion, &c., and offering all ways or means to secure the Protestant religion except that which former Parliaments had so much driven at, viz. the utter exclusion of his brother from the name and power of a king. The first thing that was debated was, whether or no, notwithstanding what the King had said to them, a Bill of Exclusion should be framed and brought in. It was voted that the security of his Majesty's person, and of the Protestant religion, should be taken into consideration the 26th instant.

In the meantime, there was not much passed of moment, only the impeachment was ordered to be prepared against Mr. Fitzharris. The occasion of it was not to hang him, but to preserve him, and the reason of it this:—This Mr. Fitzharris had been a witness for the Popish Plot, but before that had been taken framing a very scandalous libel against the King and the Government, set on, as was reported at Court, by some of the Duke of Monmouth's party, for the which he was committed in order to his trial. But the zealous part of the Commons pretending or suspecting it was an artifice of the Court to prevent his further evidence in the plot, impeached him only to keep off his trial at the common law in case that a dissolution or prorogation should happen; for when the Supreme Court is possessed of a cause, civil or criminal, it supersedes all proceedings of inferior ones in that particular.

The chief argument used for the bringing in the Bill of Exclusion in that debate was this — that nothing could effectually secure us against popery but that. Now for the better understanding the rest of the reasons, it is necessary to know that it was universally agreed by the

whole House, that popery was to be kept out; the difficulty was only in the means. The King had offered, as I said before, at the opening of this session, that he would agree to anything whereby to quiet the minds of his people in that particular, except excluding his brother. It was moved, therefore, by Sir Thomas Littleton (one that had been a fierce man of that party, but now gained by the Court), that a Bill of Security for the Protestant religion should be brought in, and to consist of these heads, without absolute exclusion of the Duke—that the Duke should have only the name, and the Princess of Orange the regency or the power; that if a Parliament were in being when the present King died, it should be empowered to sit—the judges and all other officers of the Crown to continue till religion and property were secured; and if there was no Parliament, then that one should assemble of course for that purpose, and to prevent the Duke's tampering to hinder this, that by the same Act he should be banished 500 miles from England, not to return so long as this King lived. To this it was answered, the name and power of King could not be separated in England; that the father would soon find a way to divest his daughter of that power; that regency was never known but in cases of lunacy or minority; and the Duke was not of a temper to be so easily governed. It was replied again as to that, that regencies had been allowed, and some were at this day in case of other incapacities besides lunacies, as formerly in France and now in Portugal; that princes were seldom so complimentary to one another as to give up or resign kingdoms, though to a father. And as to the authority of a Parliament to do this, no question but the same power that could alter the government could also modify it. But exclusion was the word. Some seven or eight disobliged lawyers and able speakers in the House, with several others, who had been so active in this matter, that they thought, should

the Duke ever come to the throne, he would never forgive them, prevailed so far that it was voted a bill should be brought in to disenable James, Duke of York, from succeeding to the imperial crown of this realm. Some made so bold with the Duke in this debate that they reflected on his courage and honesty, and spoke very unsuitably of his merit.

The Lords refused to receive the impeachment carried up by the Commons against Fitzharris, saying that he being already indicted at common law, and in a way of trial by his peers, as Magna Charta did direct, they saw not how their House could take cognizance of his offence. The Commons were very angry with the Lords, and voted that this proceeding of the Lords was a stop to justice, a breach of privilege of Parliament, and a hindrance to the further discovery of the Popish Plot; and that for any inferior court to proceed therein was a high breach of the privileges of Parliament, whilst an impeachment was impending. The heats grew very great in both Houses upon this account, and that of the Bill of Exclusion, and the Commons did really believe that the King would have yielded to it, he having yielded so far to them already, and being in such great want of money; besides many who desired it, that were near the King, gave them hopes to press him still to it. But upon the 28th—when the King had appointed the theatre to be made ready for the Commons to sit in, they having complained of the straitness of the schools to receive them —the Black Rod came and commanded the Commons to attend at the bar of the House of Lords, who being come, the King being in his robes, told both Houses that he found there was a difference between them, which might probably increase if they sat any longer, and therefore it was his pleasure to dissolve that Parliament. This blow was so little expected, that some were of opinion there would have been some stirs or risings in London upon it.

It was observed that many of the discontented members of both Houses came armed and more than usually attended; and that there was a design to have seized the King, and restrained him till he had granted their petitions; but if any such design was, they either wanted courage or time to execute it, for the King went in all speed away for London the same day, my Lord Halifax for the North, and I for London.

His Majesty was very kind in taking several opportunities to speak to me, whilst I stayed at Oxford. I was also there very much obliged to the Duke of Newcastle, and my Lord Halifax told me his thoughts with great freedom. His lordship was, I found, as much in councils as before, but he would not be known to be so. When he took leave of the King, he recommended me to his Majesty, speaking more of my capacity and readiness to serve him than I deserved. The King laid both his hands upon me, thanked me for my constancy to his interest, and bid me be assured of his affection.

When the Duke of Newcastle waited the same day on the King to take his leave, I was present. His grace spoke very favourably of me to him, and said that he had nothing to ask his Majesty but that he would please to be kind to me, which he should consider as done to himself. Both the Duke of Newcastle and my Lord Halifax presented me the same day to my Lord Hyde, the greatest favourite in appearance of the King's at that day. It was plain by this dissolution, as well as what I had from my Lord Halifax and others, that the King would not relinquish his brother, and did not think of calling another Parliament of a long time. The truth was that the question was not now whether the Duke should succeed or not, but whether it should be monarchy or a commonwealth. Some of the party had blabbed it in the House that this was not the only material bill they intended should pass this session, to secure the

people of England from falling under popery and absolute government; that it was necessary that both the military and civil power should be put into other hands, and that the present officers of both ought to be examined and changed, insomuch as the King was told that if he quitted the Duke, it was but to be a step both to quit all his friends and servants afterwards, and to fall entirely into the hands of people whom he had reason to think were not so well affected to his person and government.

Before my Lord Halifax went, he wrote to my Lord Hyde, or rather Mr. Hyde (for he had not that honour conferred upon him, I remember, till afterwards, and by this token, that he sat with us in the House of Commons, and cried in a speech which he made there in defence of the Duke and of his own religion, somebody having reflected upon him for being popishly inclined). The contents of that letter were to desire Mr. Hyde to be mindful of me, and to obtain some place for me. I gave him the letter when I came to London, but I found no great warmth in his way of receiving it. I gave my Lord Halifax an account of it, who wrote to me from Rufford that I should visit him and press him in it, and that I had free leave to make use of his name where I saw occasion, for he did not desire I should be fed with vain hopes.

April 20. I was at the King's going to bed (as I was three times in one week). His discourse was generally of the impossibility of such a thing as the Popish Plot, and the contradictions of which it was framed; that he intended that Fitzharris should come immediately to his trial, but in all these affairs the laws should have their course, and whatever his own private opinion was, he would govern himself according to them. Indeed, it was a great happiness to his people to live under so just and so gracious a prince!

April 26. I heard of some dangerous words, amounting, as I thought, to high treason, spoken by a person of

no mean quality. His examinations had been taken by a justice of the peace in the country, who sent them up to me. I showed them to the King and the Secretary. The King gave orders that the party should be prosecuted the next assizes.

I begged at the same time the estate of my wife's sister, which, as I said before, she had bequeathed to one Mr. Hamilton ; but he being a papist, and since convicted, by my endeavours, he was not capable to be an executor, nor any other in trust for him. His Majesty gave it me very freely when I told him the particulars, but the difficulty of it was how to find a great part of it, which Hamilton had gotten and concealed.

April 28. The King and the whole Court parted for Windsor.

His Majesty had, since the dissolution of the last Parliament, put forth a declaration full of fair promises to his people, assuring them of his intentions to govern according to law, &c. This gave great satisfaction, and he received the thanks of the City of London by the Lord Mayor, and of several other counties and corporations in England, so that all things began to look fair and calm.

May 4. Mr. Fitzharris came to be arraigned at the King's Bench bar, where, by his counsel, he refused to plead, saying that he was impeached in Parliament for the same crimes for which he stood there to be indicted, but mentioned no particular treasons as the indictment did. The counsel for the King replied that his plea was evasive, because it did not mention what those treasons were, and therefore it appeared not whether they were the same or not : and so both sides demurred.

May 7. It was argued at the bar, but the case being so extraordinary, both of its own weight and the severe vote of the Commons at Oxford, the judges took time to consider of it, and upon the eleventh day they passed judgment for the King.

May 15. It pleased God to visit me with a rheumatism, which first began like the gout in my foot, and after seized on one part of me after another, that I had scarce any part of me free. I kept my bed for one month, and was so weak that I was not able to turn myself without help, so that I despaired of recovering; all means and care of me by my wife and the best physicians, affording no relief; till, by taking asses' milk first, and cows' milk afterwards, I recovered to a miracle. Though I paid dear for the experience, I must own a great deal to Providence for the discovery of this medicine milk, which agreed so perfectly well with my body (being purgative) that I must own a more perfect health than I used to have for many years since, to it only; by drinking a pint of it every morning new from the cow, which was both my breakfast and physic. My Lord Halifax came to town about this time, and visited me thrice in that weak condition. The last time that he came he told me that he had desired of his Majesty to promise me the reversion of the government of York, my Lord Frescheville being then governor, but of great years and infirm, which the King had promised his lordship to give me in case he died, with a company of foot. This was, I confess, an employment that both for the honour and conveniency of it (being in my own country), I had reason to be very pleased with, as I was, had it been in present. But there were two hazards in it—one was the uncertainty of its fall, and of the salary his Majesty would give with it, it not being reasonable for me to hope for the same with my Lord Frescheville, who had suffered very much in his estate for the Crown in the late wars, and had more to support the honour of a peer of England, which his Majesty had lately conferred upon him. In this time Fitzharris had sentence of high treason passed upon him, and was executed accordingly. My Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Howard were clapped into the Tower, and my

Lord Halifax told me there would be enough produced against them to hang them both.

June 12. My eldest daughter fell ill of the small-pox, which I feared would not only ruin a fine face, but her life also, which troubled me to that degree that I relapsed into my former distemper for some days; but it pleased God to restore her, without prejudice to her features or complexion.

July 7. I was presented to the King at Hampton Court in his closet by my Lord Halifax (who was become the entire favourite), to take my leave of him, being to go speedily for Yorkshire. My lord spoke very kindly of me to his Majesty in many respects: of my capacity to serve him, and of my diligence in business; and desired him to confirm to me the promise he had made to him, that I should succeed my Lord Freschéville in the government of York. His Majesty did it very cleverly without the least hesitation, and gave me his hand to kiss upon it, saying at the same time he knew how well I deserved of him.

July 11. I set forward for Yorkshire, leaving my wife and family at London. She had behaved herself with care of me in my sickness, but we had a falling out at our parting, which gave me some trouble.

At Grantham there was a great entertainment given by the Earl of Lindsey, Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, to the deputy-lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other gentlemen of that county. I went to wait on his lordship only to see him *en passant* (being very well known to him), but he kept me so long to be a witness of his feast that I suffered by it in my health some days after. My journey was some addition to my illness, which increased so fast that the day I got home I fell again into my rheumatism, kept my bed fifteen days, and took no nourishment but milk for a whole month, which restored me perfectly.

August 1. I was at the general sessions at Rotherham, where there appeared nine justices of the peace;

some of them (two of which were Sir Thomas Yarburgh, my cousin german, and my uncle Thomas Yarburgh, of Campsall,) came and lay at my house.

A Parliament was held in Scotland at this time, where the Duke of York was High Commissioner. A great many gentlemen went from the North of England to wait upon him. I excused myself to him that I did not (by Mr. Darcy and others), by reason of my sickness.

August 15. I had a letter from the Lord Halifax, whereby I understood I was in his thoughts, and that he was concerned for my illness.

August 18. I waited on the Duke of Newcastle at Bolsover. As soon as he saw me upon the terrace, where he was walking, he ran down stairs to meet me, and was very kind and open to me; but I could not gain upon him to give 15,000*l.* to his daughter Catherine with my Lord Elland in present; but he said he might possibly do it in a year or two's time, if he could get money; but if he would have her upon the possibility of her share of his estate when he died, or so much money as he should leave her, then he was content. I gave my Lord Halifax his answer, but it did not please him to marry his son there upon those terms.

August 19. I returned home. My lord duke would needs come with me four miles in my coach on my way, and gave my coachman ten shillings, and five shillings to the postilion. He also presented me with a book of the 'Antiquities of Nottinghamshire,' written by Dr. Thoroton, wherein he often takes notice of my family.

August 22. I went to York, where I caused a monument to be erected for my wife's father in Coney Street Church: an eminent man of the law in his time, and ever reputed a very honest lawyer, which is not very usual; and to get an estate too, being but a younger brother, which he did. I made some visits during my stay there to my Lord Burlington at his house in the country, and to

Mr. Moyser, my father-in-law, to see my brother, his only son by my mother, whom I had not seen since he was a child; he was then twenty-one years of age, and a hopeful young man. They lived then at Beverley.

August 29. The Earl of Devonshire sent to me to desire me to come and see him at Chatsworth, which I could not obey him in, designing soon for London.

September 1. I was invited to the Cutler's Feast at Sheffield, where my Lord Darcy and several other gentlemen of the country appeared. The King having put forth a very gracious declaration to all his subjects for the which most counties and corporations of England had returned their thanks to his Majesty by way of address, I advised them of Sheffield to do the same. They required time to consider of it.

September 2. The Duke of Newcastle sent me two pied deer and a wild tup for my Park.

September 5. My troop mustered at Doncaster, where I entertained my officers and the company at dinner. I returned the same day.

September 9. The Master, wardens, and town-clerk of the Corporation of Cutlers in Hallamshire came to my house, told me they did think it convenient to present an address to the King as I had advised them, and brought me one signed by 550 hands, desiring me to carry it and offer it humbly to his Majesty, when I went up, which I accepted.

September 13. I went towards Newmarket, where the King then was. I carried my two eldest sons with me, intending to put them to school in the South, finding they improved but little in the country. The face of things began much to alter in England at that time. The Duke, that was in Scotland, was extremely courted by that kingdom. The Parliament called there confirmed the succession and uniformity of religion, in opposition to popery and fanaticism, which were two extraordinary

acts at such a time, and had a great influence upon England, and much discouraged the anti-Court party. My Lord Halifax was chief favourite and minister at this time.

September 15. I lay at Cambridge in St. John's College, at my brother's chamber. He entertained me and my sons there three days. I saw Stourbridge fair, which was held there at the same time.

September 19. I went from Cambridge to Newmarket, where I first waited upon my Lord Hyde, desiring him to introduce me to the King to present him with an address. About twelve that day he appointed me to attend in such a room, where the King came, ordered me to read it, and afterwards taking it of me, gave me his hand to kiss. Afterwards I waited of the King into the room, where he asked me many questions of the situation and extent of Hallamshire. I told him it was a body of hardware men, or makers of edge tools, incorporated by Act of Parliament; and it extended five miles round in compass from Sheffield, being a very populous place. My Lord Hyde took me that day to dine with him at my Lord Conway's, then Secretary of State.

September 20. I went a hawking with the King, where I had opportunity to speak to him a good while, and to tell him some things relating to his service. I complained to him of a neighbouring justice of the peace, who refused to sign the address, though he lived within the compass of Hallamshire, and was discouraging others from doing it. The King told me he should not stay long in the commission; but I had some reasons that prevailed with me not to pursue the business so far.

That afternoon I went to Bury, to see my Lady Monson, my aunt.

September 22. I returned to Newmarket, went to hawk with the King in the morning, and in the afternoon

set forward for London, where I arrived safe the next day with my sons.

September 23. I found my wife and family well at London.

September 25. I went to wait on my Lord Halifax, who desired me to write by the first post to the Duke of Newcastle that his lordship did now think no more of the proposed match between his son and the Duke's daughter. I had received a letter from his grace the day before upon that subject, which I showed my Lord Halifax, which gave ground for it. The same day his lordship told me the King resolved to make some new levies of dragoons, and that I should have a troop if I desired one; which I said might do well to entitle me the better to the reversion of the government of York.

October 7. I dined with the Lord Mayor of London, one of the faction, where some reflection being cast upon the Court, I answered it the best I could. One cannot imagine how every little fellow undertook to censure the King and his proceedings at that time. The same day I heard that the Earl of Halifax was censured for accepting (with three more) of a commission from the King, to dispose of all ecclesiastical livings (as Vicars-general) in the King's gift. It was called a kind of taking a branch of the royal authority to themselves, or a screening of Majesty, that ought to transfer its own bounty to the subject. There was no colour for this complaint, there being precedents in the case; and particularly when King Henry the Eighth did vest the same authority (with much greater extent) in the single person of my Lord Cromwell. When I told my lord of it, he laughed at their malice.

October 12. The King returned to London from Newmarket.

October 13. My lord told me that my Lord Shaftesbury had written to the King that if he would please to release him out of prison, he would engage to go to Caro-

lina (a remote plantation), never more to return into England; that the King had refused him, and was resolved to leave him to the law. He further told me that if it were not for the King of France's interest here, he did not question but to put England into a very happy state and condition in a short time. But there was now no hopes of a Parliament, except that King should make some new attempt upon Flanders, and an emergency of that kind might reconcile all things.

This occasion happened soon after, for news came that the French king had taken Strasburg, whereby the command of the Rhine would fall into his hands, which would so cut off the commerce and trade of the Low Countries with Germany, that it must engage them to submit to France, except we entered into a league with the Low Countries to defend them against France; this they did very earnestly solicit. But our King could afford them no help without a Parliament to supply him with money, which it was feared the present jealousies would either prevent; or if they gave him money, would not trust him with the disposal of it. The King of France knew this, and made an advantage of it, so that the good my Lord Halifax expected from this occasion did not appear very probable as yet.

October 19. One Rous, a servant to Sir Thomas Player, chamberlain of London (a great fanatic and opposer of the Court), being indicted at Guildhall for high treason, the sheriffs of London packed a jury that acquitted him, for all there was plain evidence by six witnesses to prove the bill of indictment, yet the said grand jury found it *ignoramus*. This was looked upon as the more irregular, because a grand jury ought to find the bills upon probable evidence, since that opens but the way to the second jury that is to find the prisoner guilty, or to acquit him, according as matter of fact shall be proved against him. But so great was the anti-Court

interest then in the City, that the juries would seldom find for the King.

The same day my Lord Halifax going in my coach to Whitehall, I desired him to speak to the King that I might be put into commission of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster. I thought it might give me an opportunity to serve the King, and to make myself known to him in a province which I had diligently studied a great part of my life. His lordship at the same time said that he should be glad to see me in more considerable business than that, and believed that ere long an envoy or an ambassador would be sent to the Emperor, and that he would use his interest with the King to choose me for that service, but not except I desired it, and believed the government of York would not fall very soon. I replied that my Lord Frescheville was of great years, and not likely to recover to live very long. However, I left myself entirely to his lordship's disposal, and was willing to serve the King in such a station as he thought the fittest for me.

The King talked to me a great while that evening in St. James's Park, and at the Duchess of Portsmouth's. The subject was mostly of the late unjust verdicts and proceedings of the juries in London and Middlesex, as to which he used this expression: 'It is a hard case that I am the last man to have law and justice in the whole nation.'

October 20. His Majesty went to see a new ship launched at Deptford, in his barge. I waited upon him to the water side, where he seeing me called me into the barge. He that was named to be captain gave the King a great dinner, where his Majesty commanded all the gentlemen to sit down at the same table. He was very serious that day, and seemed more concerned than the greatest business did usually make him.

October 23. I dined with the Earl of Feversham, where we made a more than usual debauch.

That evening I met the King going to council, and desired him that a notorious robber, one Nevison, having broken the gaol at York and escaped, he would be pleased to grant a reward of 20*l.* to those that would apprehend him, and to make it known by issuing out a proclamation to that purpose. The truth was, he had committed several notorious robberies, and it was with great endeavours and trouble that I had got him apprehended at the first; and since his escape, he had threatened the death of several justices of the peace, wherever he met them (though I never heard that I was of the number). The king's answer (my Lord Halifax being present) was this, that a proclamation would cost him 100*l.*, but he would order 20*l.* to be paid by the sheriff of that county to him that took him, wherever it was; and that it should be published by the *Gazette*, which was the same thing. The rogue was taken not long after, and hanged at York.

I had begged of the King some money that I had discovered in the hands of a convicted papist, which belonged to my wife, her sister. My Lord Halifax spoke to my Lord Hyde, first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, that dined there that day, to befriend me in the getting of it, which he promised me, for it might first be forfeited to the King, before I could pretend to it, and then only of the King's gift.

October 29. A new lord mayor of London was chosen. The King being invited, did him the honour to dine with him at Guildhall. The show and dinner were very great and splendid. I dined that day at the table of my lord mayor.

November 4. I was to see my lord of Danby in the Tower. He was not in charity with the then ministers, as appeared by his discourse, seeming to reflect upon them

as inclined too favourably to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and in other particulars.

November 5. I told the King the story of Sir Henry Goodricke, then ambassador in Spain, whom I called brother, of whom I had received a late account, that going out to shoot some miles from Madrid, in his return home he lighted upon some thieves that had set upon a coach full of ladies, with an intent to rob them; but before they could effect it, Sir Henry and his followers attacked them, wounded some and dispersed the rest, and rescued the ladies.

November 6. I acquainted my Lord Halifax with what was the remark of my lord of Danby and others—viz., that the ministers seemed more moderate in the case of my lord of Shaftesbury than heretofore, and that they treated with him to let him go at large. His answer was that people were too ready to pass their judgment; but if it were so, what could the King do better? He had as good be set at liberty upon terms as by a jury, which would be sure to acquit him should he be brought to trial, though never so guilty. Nor could he do the King that harm if he were out, as such an act of mercy and legality would do him good. The same day one of the under secretaries told me that the King would prosecute him to the utmost, and that there was sufficient matter against him.

My Lord Halifax had spoken to my Lord Chancellor to put me into commission of the peace for Middlesex, but he answered (as his lordship told me) that day, that he could not admit me because I was no freeholder in that county. I answered that was no reason; for I could name several that had no more freehold than I, and yet were in commission. Then said my Lord Halifax, I will speak to him again, that it is fit either those should be put out or you accepted. His lordship did so, and my Lord Chancellor then thought it reasonable to name me

to the King, and to put me into commission for Middlesex and Westminster.

November 18. I was sworn of the commission accordingly.

My Lord Halifax, that was by no ways inclining to the French interest, was no favourite to the Duchess of Portsmouth. The King was troubled at it, his business meeting with some rubs by this difference. However, the King made them friends that day outwardly, but not thoroughly, for that was impossible, they going upon two so different interests.

November 23. The King resolved that my Lord Shaftesbury should be brought to trial, to which purpose a commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued out. The most capital things against him being committed in London, the jury was returned there for the finding of the bill, and though there were eight witnesses that swore to the bill, and a paper was produced containing matter of high treason, which was sworn to have been found among the papers in his closet by a Secretary of State, yet such were the times that the grand jury brought it in *ignoramus*.

November 28. He was enlarged upon his habeas corpus, and because the rabble in the City had made bonfires the day of the bill against him being found *ignoramus*, the justices of the peace in London and Middlesex had orders to prevent the like disorders that day, by sending the constables and beadles to disperse such meetings. A great many were jealous considering my Lord Halifax's relation to him, that he was not sorry that he was come out of prison; and that which made me doubt it the more was, that waiting on his lordship a little early, I found one of my Lord Shaftesbury's gentlemen with his lordship. However, my Lord Halifax denied it to me very seriously, and said he would speedily convince the world of the contrary by his demeanour in this particular.

November 29. It being the King's custom, as he returned from his walk before dinner from St. James's Park, to discourse the foreign ministers, who usually attended to meet him in the ante-chamber, he did it that day upon the subject of the hard measure done him by my Lord Shaftesbury's jury; and it fell to my share to explain several things in French before his Majesty relating to that matter.

December 1. A particular private sessions was appointed to be sat at Westminster to take a return made by order of the King and Council of the number of all papists (foreign and others) residing within that liberty; but the return was so defective that upon my motion the constables were sent back and ordered to make another a week after, and to give it in upon oath. Matters ran very high at this time against that interest.

December 4. Was at the sessions at Hick's Hall for the county of Middlesex, where I assisted. The same day the King declared his displeasure against the Duke of Monmouth in several particulars, but especially upon his offering to be bail for my Lord Shaftesbury. The next day he disposed of the Master of the Horse's place to the Duke of Richmond, his son by the Duchess of Portsmouth, and gave the command of one of his regiments of foot guards to the Duke of Grafton, his second natural son by the Duchess of Cleveland. The King, to comply with the times—for everybody suspected it was not his inclination—sent for the justices of the peace of Middlesex to appear before him in Council, where he gave them a severe reprimand, for so remissly enquiring after the number of papists, and the prosecution of them. He spoke not himself, but did it by my Lord Chancellor, and directed that strict care should be had and taken about it for the time to come.

The same day, coming from visiting the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord Halifax took me home with him

from Whitehall. I acquainted him on the way that the general report was that he opposed the Duke of York's interest with the King, and his return into England from Scotland, which the Duke pressed extremely. He replied that it was well if the Duke's being too hasty in that matter did not turn to his injury; that he had a sort of hungry servants about him that were still pressing his return, and would never let him alone till, out of interest to themselves, they put him upon that which would turn to the prejudice of their master by the ill-timing of it. The truth was, whilst the Duke was near the King, everybody believed him led most by his advice, and consequently that popish counsels were most prevalent; and he did a great deal of good in Scotland by his influence and watchfulness in that mutinous kingdom. However, other causes were found out by the papists and the Duke's creatures for his stay there—viz., that it was to give better opportunity for his enemies to work him out of his brother's good opinion; and that the ministers might have the King to themselves, and guide him by their own influence.

My Lord Halifax said at the same time there was great partiality in the judgment of men as to his particular, for in justice they should as well take notice of things done to the advantage of the Duke as what appeared to be otherwise; but nobody commended the ministers for getting in the Duke of Richmond to be Master of the Horse to the prejudice of the Duke of Monmouth, which would prove a great bar to his return near the King, and the greatest service one could do to his highness was to prevent the Duke of Monmouth's coming to Court.

December 10. I sent one Mr. St. John to the gaol for wounding another gentleman whom he drew upon, being drunk in the street. The poor gentleman that was wounded died the same day.

December 12. My Lord Halifax said he had spoken

to the King of me, and that he now hoped I should be sent abroad speedily with a very honourable commission.

December 16. The justices of the peace of Middlesex, at Hick's Hall, resolved, in obedience to the laws and His Majesty's commands in Council, to put the laws in execution against Protestant dissenters and conventicles.

December 18. Having written to my Lord Halifax to thank him for his late assurance that I was in his thoughts, he told me that day there was some stop as to my being sent abroad, but that he would slip no opportunity to do me a kindness either in that or some other thing; he found the King had a good opinion of me, and was sufficiently disposed to show me his favour. He told me further that had there been any considerable salary with it, he intended to have made me one of the Master of the Horse's place for the Duke of Richmond, who was too young to execute it in person, and therefore did it by deputies.

December 19. Came the news of the Earl of Argyll's condemnation in Scotland, which much discouraged the Presbyterian interest both there and in England.

December 20. Seven justices of the peace attended the Bishop of London to treat with him by order of sessions concerning accommodating some French Protestants with lodging in their great workhouse at Clerkenwell, till they could be settled elsewhere; amongst whom I was appointed to manage that treaty with the said bishop, as prolocutor.

December 24. My Lord Halifax meeting me at the Secretary's, carried me to dinner, and told me, by the way, that he did believe that the difficulty which had been started as to my being sent abroad seemed now to be removed in some measure, and that the King (who had spoken kindly of me lately upon that occasion) would send me in the quality of Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Denmark, from whence my Lord Bodenham was

not long before recalled. This week no less than ten several duels were fought in London.

December 25. Came news of the Earl of Argyll's escape out of prison, at which the King seemed concerned, and of the King of France's laying claim to the country of Liege. I received some days before some assurance of being elected burgess of Aldborough, in case of a new Parliament; but my Lord Halifax advised me to make no answer to them, till he saw more as to the supposed voyage. I that day, being Christmas Day, received the sacrament at the Bishop of Ely's chapel.

December 28. My Lord Halifax directed me to be at Whitehall at the rising of the Cabinet Council, saying the King might possibly think fit to speak to me concerning going to Denmark; but he said nothing to me either then or before at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, where his Majesty discoursed with me upon other matters.

Afterwards, my lord told me the King first intended to name me in Council for that embassy the Sunday following, but that I might depend upon the King.

December 31. The Earl of Huntingdon, my Lord Elland, and some others, dined with me, where we ended the year in a more than ordinary debauch, which God forgive me, it being neither my custom nor inclination much to do so.

CHAPTER IX.

At Court—Mr. Thynne and Lady Northumberland—Anecdotes of Halifax—Danby in the Tower—An Ambassador from Morocco—Transportation of the six Priests—City Address to his Majesty—Lord Lumley—Great Floods—Disagreement between Ministers about calling a Parliament—Murder of Mr. Thynne—Political Importance attached to it—Reresby's Activity in investigating the Matter—Capture of the Murderers—The King's Anxiety—Arrest of Count Coningsmark—Attempt to bribe Reresby—The Trial—Lord Freschevillo—Prospects of Sir John's succession to him at York—Sir Thomas Slingsby—Journey with Halifax—The Duke of York and Halifax—Charles's Pursuits at Newmarket—Death of Freschevillo—Reresby Governor of York—His Opponents—Family Troubles—Shipwreck of the Duke of York—Monmouth's foolish Conduct towards Halifax—The Irish Lieutenant—Halifax's Frankness in public Affairs—Reception of the new Governor at York—Conference with the Lord Mayor there—Hallamshire Smiths again—A Quarrel at Rotherham Sessions—Lords Halifax and Sunderland—Lieutenant Batty killed—Lord Elland and Lady Catharine Cavendish—Jealousies at Reresby's Preferment—York Garrison—Disgrace of Lord Mulgrave—Entertainments at York—Alderman Ramsden—The Corporation threatened—Conditions of Submission—Characters of York Citizens—An old English Christmas at Thrybergh.

1682.

January 1. At evening I met my Lord Halifax at his return from the Cabinet Council, who told me there was some stop as to the time of my going for Denmark, but not as to the thing, and if I stood in the King's way he might possibly speak to me of it himself. Soon after the King came out into the withdrawing room, where the Queen was at cards, and seeing me there, told me in my ear that he expected some further account from the King of Denmark before he intended to send to that Prince, but whenever he sent he had pitched upon me for that service. I replied that his Majesty reposed a great trust in me, and one very honourable. I wished my capacity

might answer my desires and endeavours to serve him, and then I doubted not but I should be able to effect it. The King was pleased to answer that he made no doubt of that.

My wife and eldest daughter being that night at Court, the girl was taken notice of for handsome.

January 2. I was to attend the French ambassador to give him an answer to a query he put to me the day before, how a French footman that had robbed his master at Paris might be taken and punished here, where he had refuged himself.

I dined that day with my Lord Halifax at my Lord Conway's, Principal Secretary of State. I acquainted the King and my Lord Halifax at the same time with an affidavit made before me, as a justice of the peace, the same day, concerning a pre-contract between Mr. Thynne and Mistress Trevor, before his marriage with my Lady Northumberland. For there were endeavomrs to null the said marriage, it not having been consummated, and my Lady Northumberland having fled from Mr. Thynne into Holland. At all which the Court was not dissatisfied, the husband being one that had opposed its interest, and engaged himself in that of the Duke of Monmouth.

January 3. I gave the King a copy of the affidavit, which he had commanded me to prepare the day before. I was a long time that evening in discourse with the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was ill of a distemper, which she had long suffered under by fits, and declared that night she would get leave of the King to go for cure of to the waters of Buxton.

January 4. I carried a gentleman, one Mr. Grant, a great man of the fanatic party, to wait upon my Lord Halifax, who acquainted him with several treacheries committed by some great men and in good employment at Court against his lordship, and that had been instru-

mental in exasperating the House of Commons against him in the late Parliaments; which my lord took as a service done him, since at the least he knew thereby how to avoid and beware of them for the future. The same time I brought a gentleman to my lord to ask him pardon for some things that he had been reported to have said of his lordship; and the truth is, not only from policy (which teaches that we ought to let no man be our enemy when we can help it), but from his disposition, I never saw any man more ready to forgive than himself, and I remember his expression to him was this: 'Sir, if you have not said the words, I am very glad of it; if you have, I am so too that you find cause to be of another mind.' In some private discourse at the same time, his lordship told me that those that belonged to the Duke of York made him mad, for that there were few amongst them that had common sense. He then spoke that a Parliament was not far off.

January 5. I went to see my Lord of Danby at the Tower, where he told me several particulars of my Lord Sunderland's railing against my Lord Halifax (though his brother-in-law). I found he spoke this with some satisfaction, being himself no friend to that earl; but I presumed to tell his lordship, that as I was a friend to them both, I wished that he, as a prisoner, would forget all things of animosity against one in power, as my Lord Halifax was, for when a Parliament came his lordship might need the assistance of him and his friends.

That evening I was invited to a club of aldermen of the City, and some men of quality at Court, that met to consult for the King's service, and there found that daily the King's interest improved within the limits of London.

Upon the 11th the Morocco ambassador had his audience, who was received with a more than ordinary ceremony, the King believing that a commerce between that Emperor and this kingdom might prove of great ad-

vantage to us, we having so fit a place for a staple and storehouse of our own commodities upon their continent as Tangiers. That ambassador's present to the King was two lions and thirty ostriches, which his Majesty laughed at, saying he knew nothing fitter to return for them than a flock of geese.

January 19. This day I was at the Old Bailey, where the sessions began. The sheriffs of London had some days before been blamed by the King in Council for not obeying his Majesty's order for the transporting of six popish priests, which they had excused themselves in, as not having his Majesty's public directions or order before, and pretending some defect in the warrant they had received; but they did then promise to obey it. However, this day they made new scruples what to do in that matter, telling all the judges then present in sessions that they durst not deliver up the said priests, being condemned persons, without either having a pardon from them, a *habeas corpus*, or an order of that court, and desiring the judges' opinion at the same time; but their lordships refused to give them directions therein. All which matter I gave the King and my Lord Halifax an account of that night. The same day I moved the justices of the peace for Middlesex, at the adjournment of the sessions at noon, to this purpose—that the first address of thanks to the King for his gracious declaration had been offered by them, and since followed in all parts of England; but that the justices of the peace for the counties of Dorset and Somerset had now anticipated them in another address to his Majesty, whereby they did express their detestation of an association discovered by the trial of my Lord Shaftesbury, proofs of it being found in his closet, containing absolute rebellion and subversion of the government; but that I hoped they would follow at least the example of the said counties, by the like application to his Majesty, which they unanimously consented to, and ordered Sir William

Smith, the then chairman, to draw up an address accordingly. That night I waited upon the King in the bedchamber, where I told him what I had done, desiring to know his pleasure if he approved it, to the end I might therefore advise the justices to proceed as they had resolved, or to desist, the day following being the end of our sessions. His Majesty replied that when the late addresses had first begun, he was not much satisfied with them, but when they began to increase he was glad to find them so numerous, and that he was of the same opinion in this particular, and should be pleased that this abhorrence of the association might prove as general as the former addresses. His Majesty, amongst several other expressions to me at the same time, said these words: 'that he thanked me for my endeavours in this and other particulars of his service, that whenever I had a mind, that I should freely have access to him, for he had a kindness for me, and a good opinion of my judgment.' The intended address being drawn up and communicated to the justices for their approbation by the chairman, Sir William Smith, I made some objections against the form, it being too severe, and reflected upon the jury that had acquitted my Lord Shaftesbury, and upon his lordship, it not being our business to arraign persons over again, or to censure men but the thing of the association; whereupon it was referred to Mr. Bridgeman and me to alter, which we did to the satisfaction of all the gentlemen. We went that night to present it to his Majesty, who received it very graciously, assuring us he would ever govern according to the known laws.

January 22. I dined with my Lord Lumley at my Lord Feversham's, when my Lord Lumley declared his speedy intentions of quitting his place of Master of the Horse to the Queen, which he had thus long enjoyed as inindependent of the Master of the Horse to the King. The Duchess of Portsmouth had prevailed with the King to

alter his patent, and to make him an officer under the Duke of Richmond, contrary to his promise. And, indeed, the duchess was sometimes to blame in things of this nature; for she, to show her power with the King (which was very great) and her friendship to some, would often make the King break his engagement to others, which was not to his honour. And yet his Majesty was not at this time to be charmed with her. I found this day that one of the three ministers was reconciling himself to a great man that was no friend to my Lord Halifax, which I acquainted my lord with, lest it might prove to his disadvantage, which he told me would be of good use to him. That night I discoursed with the King a great while at my Lady Portsmouth's.

January 28. Came the news from Flanders of vast damage done to Ostend, Antwerp, and other parts of that country, by the greatest inundation that ever was known. Holland also suffered so vastly by those floods, that the greatest part of Zetland was laid under water, several towns and villages, with their inhabitants, were drowned, insomuch as it was believed that to repair the losses would cost ten millions sterling. The levels in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were by the same fate laid under water. The continual rains of this winter had occasioned those floods which were almost without intermission, nor was there any frost longer than for one night, or any snow all that time, till the beginning of February.

Now was the great expectation whether a Parliament would be called or not, the Ministers of State not agreeing in the thing. My Lord Halifax argued for it for these reasons—that all Christendom desired it, France only excepted, and nothing ought to discourage it at home, but the fear that they might fly upon high points, which, if they did, the King might dismiss or dissolve them when he pleased, and show the world that it was their fault, not his, that he endeavoured to give satisfaction to his

people by frequent Parliaments. But if the King and they agreed, his Majesty would then gain the great point to be united at home, and formidable abroad. Seymour and Hyde, that were more in the Duke's interest, were against it, fearing that not only the succession, but themselves, might be attacked in the next Parliament.

February 4. I received the sacrament in order to the taking the oaths as a justice of the peace, which I performed at the King's Bench bar on the 5th.

February 12. There happened the most barbarous murder that had taken place in England for some time. Mr. Thynne, a gentleman of 9,000*l.* a year—lately married to my lady Ogle, who, repenting of the match, had fled from him into Holland before they were bedded—was set upon by three ruffians, and shot to death as he was coming along the street in his coach. He being one deeply engaged in the Duke of Monmouth's interest, it was much feared what construction might be made of it by that party—the authors escaping and not known. I was at Court that evening, when the King hearing the news, seemed much concerned at it, not only for the horror of the action itself, to which his good nature was very averse, but also apprehending the ill constructions which the anti-Court party might make of it.

At eleven o'clock the same night, as I was going into bed, Mr. Thynne's gentleman came to me to grant a hue and cry, and soon after the Duke of Monmouth's page, to desire me to come to his master at Mr. Thynne's lodging, sending his coach to fetch me. I found him surrounded with several gentlemen and lords, friends to Mr. Thynne, and Mr. Thynne mortally wounded by five bullets, which had entered his belly and side, shot from a blunderbuss. I granted immediately several warrants to search for persons suspected to be privy to the design, and that might give some intelligence of the parties that had acted that

murder. At the last, by intelligence from a chairman that had the same afternoon conveyed one of the ruffians from his lodging in Westminster to take horse at the Black Bull, and by a woman that used to visit that gentleman, the constables found out his lodging in Westminster, and there took his man, a Swede, who being brought before me, at last confessed that he served a gentleman, a German captain, who had told him that he had a quarrel with Mr. Thynne, and had often appointed him to watch his coach as he passed by; and particularly, that day, so soon as the captain did know the coach was gone by, he had booted himself, and with two others—a Swedish lieutenant and a Polander—gone, as he supposed, in quest of Mr. Thynne on horseback. By this servant I further understood, where possibly the captain and his two friends might be found; and after having searched several houses with the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Mordaunt, and others, as he directed us, till six o'clock in the morning, having been in chase almost the whole night, I personally took the captain at the house of a Swedish doctor in Leicester Fields, I going first into the room, followed by my Lord Mordaunt. I found him in bed, and his sword at some distance from him upon the table, which I first seized, and afterwards his person, committing him to two constables. I wondered to see him yield up himself so tamely, being certainly a man of great courage, for he appeared unconcerned from the beginning, notwithstanding he was very certain to be found the chief actor in the tragedy. This gentleman had not long before commanded the forlorn hope at the siege of Mons, where only two besides himself, of fifty under his command, came off with life. For which the Prince of Orange made him a lieutenant in his guards, and the King of Sweden gave him afterwards a troop of horse.

Several persons suspected for accessories and the two

accomplices—viz., the Swedish lieutenant and the Polander (whose names were Stern and Borosky, and the captain's name Fratz)—were soon after taken by constables with my warrant, and brought to my house, where, before I could finish all the examinations, the King sent for me to attend him in Council, which was called on purpose for that occasion, with the prisoners and papers. His Majesty ordered me to inform him of my proceeding in that matter, both as to the way of the persons' apprehension and their examinations, and then examined them himself, giving me orders at the rising of the Council to put what had been said there into writing and form, in order to the trial. This took me up a great part of the day, though I desired Mr. Bridgeman, one of the clerks of the Council and a justice of the peace, to assist me in that matter both for the dispatch and my security, the nicety of the thing requiring it, as will appear hereafter.

February 15. The Council meeting again, amongst other things to examine the governor to young Count Coningsmark, a young gentleman resident in Monsieur Faubert's academy in London, supposed to be privy to the murder. The King sent for him to attend the Council, where he confessed that the eldest Count Coningsmark, who had been in England some months before, and had made addresses to my lady Ogle before she had married Mr. Thynne, had ten days before the murder come *incognito* into England, and lay disguised till it was committed. This gave great cause of suspicion that the said count was in the bottom of it. Whereupon his Majesty commanded me to go search his lodging, which I performed with two constables, but found he was gone, the day after the deed was done, betimes in the morning; of which I presently returned to give the King an account.

I several times after this attended the King, both privately and in Council, to inform him from time to time, as new matter did occur. Upon the whole we dis-

covered, partly by the confession of the ruffians, and by the information of others, that captain Fratz had been eight years a companion and particular friend to Count Coningsmark, one of the greatest men in the kingdom of Sweden, his uncle being at that time governor of Pomerania, and near being married to that King's aunt; that whilst he was here in England some months before, and had made addresses to the Lady Ogle, the only daughter and heiress to the Earl of Northumberland, married after to the now murdered Mr. Thynne, the said count had resented something done towards him as an affront from the said Mr. Thynne, and that the said captain, out of friendship to the Count (but as he then pretended not with his privity), was resolved to be revenged of him. To which intent he, with the assistance of the said Stern and Borosky, had committed this so barbarous act, by obliging the latter to discharge a blunderbuss upon him in his coach, the others being present. I was glad to find in this whole affair that no English person nor interest was concerned, the fanatics having buzzed it already abroad that the design was chiefly against the Duke of Monmouth; and I had the King's thanks oftener than once, my Lord Halifax's also, and of several others, for my diligent discovery of the true cause and occasion as well as the authors of this matter. The truth is the Duke of Monmouth was gone out of the coach from Mr. Thynne an hour before; but I found, by the confession both of Stern and Borosky, that they were ordered not to shoot in case the Duke were with him in the coach.

It was much suspected all this while that Count Coningsmark was not yet over sea; and on the 20th he was found by the Duke of Monmouth's servant disguised at Gravesend alone, coming out of a sculler, intending the next day to go aboard a Swedish ship. The King having notice, called an extraordinary Council to examine him that afternoon, at which I was present. He appeared

before the King with all the assurance imaginable; was a fine gentleman of his person; his hair was the longest for a man's I ever saw, for it came below his waist, and his parts were very quick. His examination before the King and Council was very superficial, but he was after that appointed the same day to be examined, by order of the King in Council, by the lord chief justice, Mr. Bridgeman, the Attorney-General, and myself. It was accordingly done, but he confessed nothing as to his being either privy or concerned in the murder, laying his lying here concealed upon the occasion of his taking physic for a disease, and therefore was unwilling to discover himself till he was cured; and his going away in a disguise after the fact was done, upon the advice of some friends, who told him that it would reflect on him were it known he was in England, when a person that was his friend was under so notorious a suspicion for committing so black a crime; and therefore did endeavour to get away, not knowing how far the laws of this land might for that very reason make him a party.

February 21. This night I was with the King at his going to bed, where, discoursing as to this matter, I found he was willing Count Coningsmark might come off.

Sir Thomas Thynne telling my Lord Halifax that I had taken a great deal of pains in this matter, his lordship bestowed a greater compliment upon me (being then present) than I deserved, saying, 'He doth not only behave himself well in this, but in all other things which he undertakes.'

February 25. The King being to go speedily to Newmarket, and it being reported that the Duke of York was to come from Scotland to make a visit to his Majesty there, I pressed my Lord Halifax to fix the government of York, which the King had promised me, lest it might likewise be desired by his highness for Sir Thomas Slingsby, who was well in the Duke's favour, and who

having some time before purchased the Lord Frescheville's troop of horse, was very desirous to succeed him in that government also, either by purchase or favour.

February 26. A gentleman that kept the French academy in London, one Monsieur Faubert, came and desired me to direct him, if there was any method to be followed, for the saving of Count Coningsmark's life, insinuating at the same time that as he was a gentleman of a vast estate, he was sensible he could not lay it out to greater advantage than to support his innocence, and to secure him against the danger of the law in a strange country. I told him that if he was innocent, the law would acquit him, though he were a foreigner, as well as if he were a native; but that he ought to be careful how he made any offers of that kind, it being rather the way to make a man of honour his enemy than to gain him for his friend. This was one of the first bribes of value that ever was offered me, which I might safely have gotten without discovery, and without doing much for it; but I always believed that money so gotten was no addition to what we possess, but rather the cause of its waste—*male parta male delabuntur*—and therefore I denied it as I ever did, and I hope shall be able to resist temptations of that nature.

February 27. The bills against the three murderers of Mr. Thynne had been found against them as principals, and against the Count as accessory at the sessions at Hick's Hall, which had begun on the 20th of February, and ended on the 28th; all the rest of the persons apprehended or bound over for that offence being reserved as witnesses till the trial. On the 28th they were tried at the Old Bailey, where, after a trial that lasted from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, and a very strict prosecution by the relations of Mr. Thynne, the three were brought in principals of the said murder, and received sentence of death accordingly. The Count was

acquitted as not accessory by the same jury, it being *per medietatem linguæ*, according to the privilege of strangers. I carried the King the news the first of this, who was not displeased to hear that it had passed in this manner. The party of the Duke of Monmouth, who all appeared to countenance the prosecution, were extremely concerned that the Count did escape.

March 2. I told my Lord Halifax that, the better to secure the government of York, I was willing to purchase the present possession of the government, if my Lord Frescheville would quit it for a reasonable rate, which it was not unlikely he would do, considering his age and infirmity. His lordship told me he thought it not so prudent to venture to give money upon it, considering my Lord Frescheville's age; but if I desired it he would speak to the King, and obtain leave to treat with him about it. The same night his lordship carried me to his Majesty in the bedchamber, there being no person present but we three. His Majesty told me I had leave to buy the present possession of that command, if Frescheville and I could agree on the price; but he advised me against it, saying it was impossible his lordship could live two months, being burnt down to the socket (as his Majesty termed it) or quite wasted; but that he left it to my own choice, assuring me of this, that if I survived him I should certainly succeed him in that command; that neither Sir Thomas Slingsby nor others should deprive me of it, though the Duke himself should intercede for them; and that I should have the first independent company that fell, though such a vacancy should fall out before the government. My Lord Halifax told the King that he should be glad to see me actually in some place of credit in his service, for that nobody deserved it more or was better able to serve his Majesty than myself. The King replied that he knew it. All I said was, that though I could not pretend to merit the character his

lordship had given of me, yet I should ever make it my business to be as faithful and diligent in any post where his Majesty should please to place me as another. I desired time to consider what I should do as to the purchase, and that his Majesty would please, however, to continue me governor of Burlington, and the salary belonging to it of 200*l.* a year (which the Commissioners of the Treasury were endeavouring to retrench), which his Majesty did perfectly promise me.

March 3. I thought it was better to try the continuance of my Lord Frescheville's health a while longer than to purchase; especially hearing that he was not likely to live very long; and the truth is, I rather did this to fix the thing by getting a re-assurance of the King's promise on that particular, than out of any design to buy, from the beginning. My Lord of Halifax this day obtained from the King for me, that I might put in caveats in the office of both secretaries to prevent the obtaining of the next independent company that fell by any other person. And the King, at my own request, was pleased to promise me that when a vacancy did happen among his pages of honour, that he would take my second son, Tamworth, into that place, of which I was glad, believing that he might prove very fit, by reason of his quickness and apprehension, for a court. There was nothing to be said against so considerable a preferment for a younger son, but the vices of the place (to which youth is more apt to incline than riper age); but God's grace is sufficient to steer and direct men in all places.

This afternoon I went in the barge of the Duke of Albemarle with his grace and the ambassador of Morocco, to the bear-garden, to see the baiting of bulls and bears for the diversion of his excellency.

March 4. The King and Queen went to Newmarket; the Duchess of Portsmouth went the day before for France.

March 10. The captain and the other two, that were guilty of Mr. Thynne's murder, were hanged in the same street where it was committed. The captain died without any expression of fear, or laying any guilt upon Count Coningsmark. Seeing me in my coach as he passed by in the cart to execution, he bowed to me with a steady look, as he did to those he knew amongst the spectators, before he was turned off; in fine, his whole carriage, from his first being apprehended till the last, relished more of gallantry than religion.

The part I had in the discovery and prosecution of this murder made me generally known in the new employment of justice of the peace for Middlesex and Westminster; and there happened another thing that assisted to it in some measure, which was the setting up of a manufacture of wool for the maintenance of the poor in St. Martin's parish, which was very much oppressed with them before, and to which my endeavours did much contribute.

March 12. His highness the Duke of York arrived at Newmarket from Scotland, which he had long endeavoured to get leave to do, some advising the King against it.

March 16. My Lord Halifax told me I must go with him the next day in his own coach to Newmarket, which I accepted of as a great honour done to me. He complained to me the same day of some hardships he lay under in the administration of public concerns from the great indiscretions of some near the King; whom, notwithstanding the King very well knew and laughed at in private, yet entrusted in great affairs.

March 17. Except myself, there being nobody in the coach with his lordship, he discoursed with me concerning his son, several other private matters and some public, expressing in all he said the wonted goodness, honour, and discretion, with which he always both spoke and

acted; for certainly there never lived a man in the world of more wit and judgment than himself. Amongst other things he was saying how free he had been with the Duke of York in the point of changing his religion: for he had written to him, that except he became a Protestant, his friends would be obliged to leave him, like a garrison that one could no longer defend; and that his highness's answer was that then his case was more desperate than he understood it to be before, for that he could not alter his principles. However, he doubted not but his highness would receive him with kindness (as he did, and in truth had great reason to do), for it was his lordship's industry and arguments in the House of Lords chiefly that stemmed the tide as to the Bill of Exclusion in that assembly.

March 18. We arrived before noon at Newmarket; that day I was presented to the Duke by my Lord Halifax, who was very kind to me in his expressions. I received an account there of my Lord Frescheville's being desperately ill, and my lord thought fit to put the King again in mind of his promise to me of the government of York, lest Sir Thomas Slingsby, who had a design to get that reversion (having bought my Lord Frescheville's troop of horse some months before with that intent), should step in before me, he having just at that time brought up an address to his Majesty from the grand juries and the gentry at the assizes at York, in abhorrence of the association found in the Earl of Shaftesbury's closet. My lord stayed there till the 26th. I lay in the same lodging with his lordship, and was presented to his royal highness by my lord, who, after great outward expressions of respect and kindness to his lordship, and a long private audience given him, received me also very obligingly. The King was so much pleased with the country, and so great a lover of the diversions which that place did afford, that he let himself down from Majesty to the very degree of a country gentle-

man. He mixed himself amongst the crowd, allowed every man to speak to him that pleased; went a-hawking in the mornings, to cock-matches in the afternoons (if there were no horse-races), and to plays in the evenings, acted in a barn, and by very ordinary Bartlemewfair comedians. My Lord Halifax was not only pleased to make me the companion of his journey, but to own me in all companies, and take me with him to all places. We commonly dined, during his lordship's stay there, either at my Lord Conway's, the French Ambassador's, or the Duke of Albemarle's. The crowd was so great here by reason of the Duke's first arrival there, of everybody coming to wait upon him, and of several abhorrences brought up and presented to the King from all parts of England, that there were not beds for the company. My Lord Halifax renewed his request for me to the King concerning the government of York, lest others might have it. His Majesty said he might rely upon his word in it.

March 27. At our return to London, I found his lordship Frescheville could not live many days; and he being dead the 2nd of April, I returned to Newmarket with my Lord Halifax's letter to the King.

April 4. His lordship showed me the letter before it was sealed, and there were in it these kind expressions: that he did recommend me to his Majesty for the employment he had promised me (my Lord Frescheville being dead), which he did the rather because he had heard him express his good opinion of me so often, and that he knew I was able to serve his Majesty in that or a greater employment; for his own private friendship should never prevail with him to offer any person to his service that was not in his judgment qualified for it, &c.

His Majesty having read the letter, told me that my Lord Halifax needed not have written so much in my commendations, for that he did very well remember his

promise, and was as ready to perform it from his own disposition to be kind to me as from his lordship's recommending of me.

At my leaving London I had endeavoured by my Lord Halifax's interest with my Lord Hyde (who was Chief Commissioner of the Treasury) to obtain his consent that I might petition the King for the same allowance as governor as my Lord Frescheville, which was five hundred pounds per annum. But his lordship pleaded the King's poverty, and would not consent to it. However, I presumed to ask it of his Majesty, who did graciously bestow not only that upon me, but all the privileges and advantages that his lordship formerly enjoyed as governor, as the use and benefit of the King's house, there called the Manor, &c.; for upon the first promise I only expected 300*l.* yearly salary. And here I have reason to praise Almighty God that, considering I had no great relations or friend to assist or help me, but those God had raised up to me by my own industry; no extraordinary parts, and a very mean figure or person; he was pleased to give me so honourable and profitable an employment, when men much exceeding me in quality, merit, and in service to the Crown, were ready to starve for bread. I had considerable rivals in this pretension, the Earls of Huntingdon, of Scarsdale, and of Burlington, who being lord lieutenant of the West Riding, opposed me in it, looking upon it as an encroachment upon his command. My Lord Conyers was another that expected it, Sir Thomas Slingsby and others; but the King stood by me against all pretenders.

I afterwards acquainted the Duke with it, who told me that the King ever expressed himself kind towards me; that he was very well pleased with it, and that he was glad it was in so good hands.

I had for some days much trouble in this business, and chiefly by the means of my Lord Burlington, who

hearing that the command of the militia within the city of York was given to me by my commission (he being the lord lieutenant of that place), opposed my having that power; but the King ordered it that when they were there as part of the garrison, they should be commanded by me; or in case of tumults, insurrections, or other occasion, where I should have need of them, for his Majesty's service.

April 20. His highness had a splendid entertainment by the Artillery Company of the City of London, of which I was that day made free by his highness the Duke of York's command.

April 23. I had the general congratulations of my acquaintance, which was very great amongst all sorts of people by reason of my being so long known at Court, and my late acting as a justice of peace in Middlesex, where I had behaved myself in some remarkable concerns with all the diligence and integrity I was able to express.

This day his Majesty and the Duke, with the Queen, went to continue at Windsor.

April 20. My Lord Halifax told me some of my adversaries, or rather competitors as to my late employment, had endeavoured to represent me as not having any considerable interest in my country, which his lordship knew, he said, to be malicious.

April 25. His lordship desired me to go with him and my Lord Hyde to dine with my Lord Mayor; where their lordships were received with great respect. After dinner, we drank more healths than was usual.

April 28. I went to Windsor (several more justices of the peace for Westminster following the day after), to present an address to the King from the grand jury for that liberty and themselves; which the King (and especially the Duke of York) received very kindly, there being some expressions therein of thanks to the King for his love and care of his brother; and his highness told

me in particular that he ever expected my assistance in that kind where it came before me that himself should be concerned.

There happened an accident here in which I was concerned; for my boy, knocking at the door of a gentleman where his lodger was sick in bed, the servant of the gentleman that was sick came out and offered some affront by language for the boy's knocking so hard. Another gentleman's man came out upon the alarm, and after that a third, giving me very ill language, and fetching each of them a stick, threatened to strike me if I would not depart, and upon my taking hold of one of them were as good as their word. At the last I was forced to retire, and soon after returning with my friend to learn the names of their masters, to make them give me satisfaction, they proved to be two of her Majesty's priests. The next day the priests sent their servants to be dealt with as I should appoint, which was all the reparation to be expected from persons of their function.

April 30. I returned for London.

May 3. The Duke of York returned for Scotland by sea, and I went with my Lord Falkland, my Lord Lexinton and others, in my lord's barge down with the Duke, till he went aboard his yacht. He then proposed to return, and bring the Duchess in a month's time.

I found at this time that my only sister, who was then about forty years of age, and had lived with the reputation of a discreet woman, finding that no better fortune did offer itself (for she was not handsome), was very near being married to an Irishman, who had raised himself from a common soldier to the degree of a lieutenant in the French army, but had little or no estate, but the pay of a reformed officer. I did all I could to prevent a misfortune of this kind both to herself and her family; and by threats of what I would do to her, and by disparagements of her gallant, I thought I had prevailed with her

to think of him no more; when the next day I found (by his sending a gentleman to enquire of me, and my brother the captain, who it was that had informed us of such reports to his prejudice) she held a correspondence yet with him, and told him what we had said of him. We told him we were not to name authors, but should be able to prove both his meanness of estate and his once having been a common soldier, and that I would never consent to her marriage with him; and the same day I so far prevailed with her as to leave her lodgings, and to come and protect herself in my house. After this I hourly expected to hear from him, for the man was brave, and had killed a gentleman in a duel in France—one Hudson. At the last he wrote several letters to her; in one of which, that came to my hand, he said he knew how to resent it from those that should hinder his seeing her; however, he never took that course, and I prevailed with her to go with me into Yorkshire.

May 9. I had a long discourse with my Lord Halifax as to several concerns. I found he was very steady for a Parliament, and thought that the Duke had got no advantage in the King's good opinion by his journey into England; nor indeed were the King's own friends much pleased with it; but his servants, that gained by his being here, put him upon it.

May 10. Came the news that his highness had like to have been cast away in his journey to Scotland. The ship was lost by running upon the sands in Yarmouth Roads, and several of the passengers lost; but this was soon after contradicted.

That day I took the oaths as governor of York, and justice of the peace within the liberty of St. Peter in York. I was in all these commissions at that time, viz.: as governor of York, governor of Burlington, captain of a troop of horse in the West Riding of the county of York, justice of the peace for that riding, for Middlesex,

for Westminster, and the liberty of St. Peter within the city of York; as also deputy lieutenant for the West Riding.

The same day, going to dine with the Earl of Ailesbury, my wife and eldest daughter being in the coach, the perch broke, and two footmen behind it fell under the coach, and were in danger of being killed; but by God's mercy sustained no great harm.

May 12. Came account that the ship called the 'Gloucester,' a third rate, in which the Duke went for Scotland, was cast away on Yarmouth sands, and that all the passengers, save the Duke and about 160 persons, were drowned. Among those that were lost were my Lord O'Brien and Lord Roxburghe, Mr. Hyde, my Lord Clarendon's brother; all which proved too true.

The envy of my being preferred to the government of York showed itself by several little insinuations of those that apprehended themselves for it, which my Lord Halifax told me he had received from third hands; but (which was as great an obligation as his first endeavours to obtain it) he said he must ever make a difference of men by his own trial, and not by the opinions they had of themselves.

May 12. Waiting upon my Lord Halifax, he told me that the day before, being Sunday, the Duke of Monmouth came to him after prayers, and asked him if the report was true that his lordship had advised his Majesty in Council that a proclamation should be issued out forbidding all people to keep him company; that his lordship replied he was not obliged to tell him whether he did or did not; to which the Duke said that there needed no proclamation to prohibit his keeping his lordship company, and that if it were in another place he would have said more to him; and so they parted. The Duke behaved very foolishly in this, both as to the wise and the gallant part; for it must needs disoblige the King to

question a privy councillor for the advice that he gives him in Council; and if he intended a quarrel, he should have chosen another place to have spoken in, and have said more or nothing at all. And so I told his lordship, offering to serve him with my life, if any more happened upon it; but his lordship replied if that were, he would make use of somebody he esteemed less than he did me, but did not conceive himself obliged to fight upon that account, though he should be ready to defend himself, for he carried a sword by his side.

May 23. There was a Council held at Hampton Court, where my Lord Halifax told me, as soon as the Council rose, that an order had there passed to this effect, that forasmuch as the Duke of Monmouth had used some threatening speeches to a member of that board, in relation to something said in Council to his Majesty, his Majesty did consider it as an unmannerly insolence against himself, and did therefore charge all his servants, and such as had any dependency upon him, not to keep company with, or frequent the said Duke of Monmouth for the future.

May 26. Since the taking of my sister into my house to prevent her undoing by marrying the Irish lieutenant, I had heard nothing from him, but suspected she did yet keep a secret correspondence with him, in spite of her often repeated assurances to the contrary; and what confirmed me the more was, that upon this day at evening he was seen to come very drunk before my door, and to stand gazing at the windows for a sight at his mistress, but some person in the room shutting the windows, he pulled down some white rails that stood on one side of the door, and so departed. At my return home I found my wife and family in disorder, fearing the due resentment I ought to have of such an action; for this foolish behaviour of his was not only public to the family, but to the whole street, and therefore sent my brother to him

to tell him that what he had done to my house I considered as done to myself, and therefore expected from him the satisfaction of a gentleman, which was to meet me, with his sword and his friend, behind Southampton House that day, at two in the afternoon. But he having changed his lodging, my brother could not find him till near ten o'clock upon the 27th. When my brother came to him he would not own the fact, but said if I would have him to fight he would meet me at the time and place; but before we could meet, his carriage was so public that somebody gave notice of it to my Lord Marshal, who sent a sergeant-at-arms and secured him at his lodging; and after some time found me at my brother's, and secured me also. The next day he denied that it was he that did the thing, for he was ashamed of it, such things (where a man hath a quarrel) not being fit to be done to houses, but persons, not openly, but privately; or if he did it, he said he was drunk, not knowing what he did, and asked pardon. Upon which I owned I had sufficient satisfaction, and my lord took both our engagements to stir no more in that matter. I made all the improvements I could of this so ill carriage of the lieutenant's to my sister towards not only myself, but her, to lessen her kindness to him, which she then seemed to resent.

May 28. My Lord Halifax sent for me to go in the coach with him and my Lord Hyde to Windsor, but being under restraint (as before declared), I could not go then.

May 29. Which was the King's birthday, I followed after them, but the joy usually expressed on that day was much damped by the King's being not well, of which he recovered in two days, to the joy of the nation.

June 1. I took my leave of the King (intending speedily for Yorkshire), who was very kind to me in his

expressions. I came from Windsor in the coach with my Lord Halifax and Mr. Seymour.

June 2. I took leave of the Duke and Duchess, then arrived from Scotland. The Duke told me that he confided in me as much as any of the King's subjects, and doubted not of my respects towards him. The day after they went to Windsor.

June 3. I had a long discourse with my Lord Halifax, where I offered him my advice that I feared he was too frank with some joined with him in business, and in the King's favour, who did betray him, and that he should keep himself under more reserve if possible. He answered he knew it, but could not well avoid that freedom in business, but hoped his integrity would support him. I had several directions at the same time how to comport myself in the North, not so fitting to be here inserted.

June 12. Some days being spent to prepare for my journey, I went with my wife, sister, and my family to Thrybergh; where, by God's mercy, I arrived safely, being met by some friends by the way upon the 16th; where I found my affairs in pretty good condition, and my neighbours for the most part well pleased with the honour his Majesty had done me in giving me the command of York. I stayed there to settle my affairs till the 26th, when I went to take possession of my government at York.

Some gentlemen in the neighbourhood, as well as those more remote, had sent to know if their accompanying me to York would be acceptable, which as I refused from no gentleman, so I desired from none; but was much surprised when I found myself met upon the road by the high sheriff of the county and several gentlemen, all the borough men of Aldborough and citizens of York, to the number of near 400. At York there was then but one company of foot, which was drawn out of the town, and the cannon of Clifford's Tower were discharged to receive

me. That night I treated a great part of the company at supper, having sent some venison and made preparation before in two houses.

June 27. I went to Clifford's Tower, to take possession of it, with the high sheriff, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Henry Marwood, and several other gentlemen, which I found in pretty good condition as to repairs and stores (powder only excepted and cannon). I went afterwards to wait on my Lord Mayor, and to show him my commission. I told him I understood that in my Lord Frescheville's time the civil power had something entrenched upon the military, which I should not suffer for the time to come; that if the soldiers committed capital crimes, as treason or felony, I was willing (notice being first given to me) to deliver them up to justice; but for less crimes, as batteries, quarrels, or smaller misdemeanours, I expected complaint to be made to me, and to have the punishment of them myself; which his lordship confessed to be reasonable, though not long before he had bound the officer, that was deputy-governor, to keep the peace. I told his lordship further that I heard several things were frequently said and acted to the prejudice of his Majesty's service, which I desired he would take care to prevent for the future; otherwise I should be bound to represent it to the King; and that I thought this the best method of dealing frankly with his lordship, and of telling him what I designed to do to keep a good understanding with him, with much more to the same effect.

His lordship took all very well; told me he was obliged to me for my open and ingenuous proceeding; said he did take notice of my authority, and would pay all due respect to it; that what I seemed to insist upon appeared but reasonable, and that city was much obliged to the King for giving them a governor of their own county, &c. The truth is that York was at that time one of the most factious towns of the kingdom, and began

to fear (should the *quo warranto* succeed against the charter of London) that their own was not a little in danger.

I stayed at the Manor—where I made all the preparation so ruinous a place was capable of to receive my family, which I designed to bring with me the next time—till July the 3rd. All those days I returned the visits of those that came to see me or to meet me at my coming to town, and kept a table for all those that did me the favour to dine with me during my stay there.

Before my going to York the smiths of Hallamshire came to desire my assistance as to excusing them from payment of the hearth-duty for their smiths' forges, which the King's officers began again to demand of them. They said that in my absence they had applied themselves to other justices without success, and were very pressing that I would relieve them as I had formerly done. The truth is, though other gentlemen had declined them, I was satisfied that the law was for them; but for me to be active against the King's officers in the matter of his revenue, when others had desisted, I feared might set me ill with the lords of the Treasury, who might represent it ill to the King. However, thinking it just to help them, I wrote to my Lord Halifax, setting forth the justice of their cause, and desiring that as the King's officers had for some years forborne collecting the duty upon smiths' forges within that precinct, partly because the law was not very clear on that point, and partly out of consideration of their poverty, his lordship would please to intercede to his Majesty that they might still be excused. I used several other reasons to enforce this, as the reputation it would be to his lordship amongst his countrymen to do no less than my Lord Danby had done before upon the same occasion; that it was better they should have the obligation of it to the King than to the justices of the peace, who perhaps might at the last be brought to relieve

them; that it was but some 60*l.* yearly loss to the King, and the payment might ruin some hundreds of persons.

July 4. I received an answer from my Lord Halifax, which gave me some hopes that some stop would be put to the collecting of this duty upon them.

July 12. I made a visit to the Duke of Newcastle, who entertained me with great kindness for two days. I had some affairs to discourse with him from my Lord Halifax, in which I received all satisfaction. He gave me a mare and foal at our parting, of his own breed.

July 15. His grace came with me to Rotherham, where we made also a visit to the Duke of Norfolk, lately come into the country with intention to build at the college there, it being his duchess's jointure.

July 18. Was our sessions at Rotherham, where I gave the charge to the jury. The same day the Duke of Norfolk invited me and all the rest of the justices to dinner. We were eight there in number; viz., Sir Henry Marwood, Sir Michael Wentworth of Woolley, Sir Ralph Knight, Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Blythman, Mr. Ramsden, Mr. Jessop, and myself. The laws having been put more vigorously in execution against nonconformists of late than heretofore, Mr. Jessop (a known favourer of dissenters) made some scruple to join with us in that proceeding. After a long debate in a private room to satisfy his doubts in that point, he cast some reflections on the proceedings of the justices in their former sessions as well as on those there present, declaring that all their proceedings and warrants were illegal; to which I replied that it was something saucy to arraign so many gentlemen of quality concerned in the commission of the peace for his single opinion. He stood up and retorted with great insolency: 'You are very impudent.' At which words I took up a leaden standish (he sitting behind a table, and at some distance from me), and threw it at his face, where the edge lighting upon his cheek cut it quite through.

We after this drew our swords, and I went into the middle of the chamber, but the company prevented his following of me, and afterwards reconciled us.

I was sorry for this accident, it happening at a sessions of the peace, but the provocation could not be passed over.[1] At the same place I acquainted the cutlers with the directions of my Lord Halifax, which were to inform them that he had in some measure prevailed that they should be excused from paying the duty of hearth-money for their smiths' forges, and that he would do them what kindness lay in his power, either in that or in any other concern.

July 21. I removed with my family to York, where I continued some weeks. The assizes began the 26th, where there was nothing very memorable that passed more than the usual affairs of that time. I kept a table; the high sheriff and most of the gentlemen of quality in town dined with me.

August 4. The judges went out of town upon Friday the 4th. The garrison was much out of order by reason that he who was captain of the foot company there was a man of pleasure, and remiss in either doing duty himself

[1] A letter from Sir John to Halifax, written at Thrybergh, July 19, among the Spencer MSS., tells much the same story, and adds that the company 'made us friends, he confessing the justices of the peace in the right, then drinking to me, saying he was sorry for his passion, and I declaring that then I was sorry for mine. My lord, I acquaint your lordship with this that you may not be prepossessed by any false story; for thus I have it agreed to by all the justices then present under their hands, and I beg that no worse may be made of it to his prejudice either by his being turned out of commission of the peace or otherwise.' From a note in Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood it appears that Reresby's opponent was Francis Jessop, an early member of the Royal Society, and a cultivator of natural and abstract science; he lived at Broomhall, in Sheffield. Jessop was a friend of Fisher, the ejected vicar of Sheffield, and had come into collision with his brother justices by his endeavours to protect Bloom another ejected minister. Heywood relates that Sir John was only prevented from attacking Jessop with his rapier by the interference of the latter's son, a stripling of fifteen. This youth became a distinguished lawyer and member of Parliament.

or seeing it done by others. I went often upon the guard myself, caused a list of those that mounted the main guard, or that of Clifford's Tower, to be daily brought to me. I took exact care in the locking of the city and castle gates, and brought matters to an indifferent good pass in a short time, both as to the repairs and furnishing of the Manor, as well as the other, though the latter was of great charge to me.

I heard at this time that my Lords Sunderland and Halifax were reconciled, which much surprised me, no two men having been more bitter the one against the other, the relation between them (for my Lord Halifax married the sister of my Lord Sunderland, and had issue by her,) softening, it seems, those hard opinions they had one of another. At this time I received the good news that my Lord Halifax, my good and excellent lord, was made Marquis of Halifax.

September 7. The Cutlers had their annual feast at Sheffield, to which (by the industry of Mr. Jessop) I was not invited; this he did not only out of private revenge, but for a public end, that he might have a better opportunity to persuade them that they had the obligation rather to my Lord Clifford for their late deliverance from paying hearth-money for their forges than to me, my Lord Clifford being there present, and being brother to my Lord Hyde, the chief lord commissioner of the Treasury. By this act he hoped to engage them to vote for my Lord Clifford and my Lord Halifax, should a Parliament be called, in opposition to Sir John Kaye, who was my friend. Upon this I gave over being so industrious to help so ungrateful a sort of people, and soon after came a letter that the said forges were to pay the duty as well as other hearths, only the poorest sort of cutlers were to be excused, which did not please them, they having been generally excused heretofore by my intercession. I returned to Thrybergh from York the 12th.

Septem ber 14. I mustered and exercised my troop at Rotherham, where several gentlemen met me and dined with me that day.

September 25. I went to take leave of the Duke of Norfolk at Rotherham, who was then going for London. He parted with me very kindly, calling me his nearest and best neighbour. He told me some news of confidence from above which I had heard before, though I seemed not to know it.

September 28. My Lord Halifax having written to me to sound my lord Duke of Newcastle if he was willing the former treaty between my Lord Elland, his son, and my lady Catharine should be renewed, I went to wait on his grace (carrying my wife to do her duty to the Duchess), where I stayed till October the 1st. I found the Duke had a mind to the thing, but thought it fit it should begin without his declaring himself one way or the other, lest it might seem to be desired on the lady's side.

The Duke gave me the best mare and foal of his whole breed, which he had promised me before. His grace went September the 30th to Nottingham, being lord lieutenant of the county, to appease the disorders there, two mayors being sworn upon the grant of a new charter from the King, the old one being delivered up, one by the factious party pretending the old charter was yet in force, the other by the loyal one.

I received the sad news of an honest, worthy, and brave gentleman's death, the lieutenant to my militia troop of horse, and my particular friend; he had only this fault, that he was too subject to the bottle; and having been drinking with my Lord Castleton (there being some former falling out between them), the provocation was so great from the lord, that Mr. Batty (for so was his name) challenged him into my lord's own garden, where they went and fought, and this poor gentleman was killed.

October 5. I went to the sessions at Wakefield, where we were ten justices of the peace, and I gave the charge. Mr. Peebles (whom I had before recommended to my Lord Halifax to be made a justice of the peace) accepted of being lieutenant to my troop instead of Mr. Batty.

October 7. In my return from Wakefield, by God's mercy, I escaped a great danger, my horse falling with me upon the edge of a precipice; but I throwing myself from my horse the other way, got no great harm, and gave my horse the opportunity to recover himself, though his hinder legs were already off the side of the bank.

October 8. I was godfather to Mr. Turner's first son, chief steward to the Marquis of Halifax, who lived at Wakefield. The child's name was John.

October 10. I received a letter of thanks from the Marquis of Halifax, as to the management of the treaty aforesaid with the Duke of Newcastle, though I could not effect the setting of it on foot; however, I sounded the Duke's thoughts and inclinations in the thing as from myself, and in that manner that he did not in the least believe that I did it by any commission from the Marquis; so that upon the whole matter I found the Duke would give nothing with his daughter in present, but declared she should be worth 60,000*l.* at his death or second marriage, in case he survived his duchess and married again; but this did not satisfy the Marquis, and yet he was pleased to find the utmost of what would be done without being seen to ask it, as appears by his lordship's letter to me *in hæc verba:* 'I am to give you such thanks as are due to one that acteth not only as a kind friend but a wise one, in everything that is recommended to you. The part you lately undertook was of such a nature, both so nice in itself, and in respect of those you had to deal with, that I know very few besides yourself that are capable of handling it in such a manner; but, after this, I must tell you that, let the thing in itself be ever so advisable, the means of

attaining it are so uncertain, and the parties concerned (to use no harsher term) so wonderful, the incomparable mixture of hot and cold, kind and jealous, so very extraordinary, and to me so extremely discouraging, I (who seldom have thought anything an equal price for a difficulty) cannot allow myself to pursue it any further,' &c.

I now began to be sensible that though there were few in the West Riding that applied themselves to the doing of the business of the county, either as the deputy-lieutenant or justice of the peace, with more diligence than myself, it was hard for one to give the same satisfaction, now that I had so great a mark of the King's favour as the government of York, as heretofore. My superiors were secretly displeased that I had got that which they thought they deserved before me; my equals were so too that I had got before them by having the honour of that command, and both were jealous that whatever business was done where I was present would be rather attributed to my conduct than theirs; and my inferiors (especially those that were not friends to the Court) were jealous, though I acted with the same integrity between the King and the country, that I too much inclined to that interest. At the same time, I had intimation from a privy councillor above that the Court was jealous that I too much adhered to the interest of the country in some matters of the King's revenue, which were judicially brought before me; and I was chidden softly by my Lord Halifax in a letter for the same thing. So that, finding it very difficult to steer an even course amongst so many several and different persons and interests, I resolved first to keep the honour of my employment and the good opinion of my master and friends above (both for my own advantage and that of others that sought to me) as long as I justly and honestly could; and at the same time to do country business, but only defensively, and as it was brought to me according to my

conscience; declining, however, to seek for it, or to rival those, in their ambition, who had no greater than to be esteemed leading men at a country sessions.

October 17. Being at Doncaster with two other deputy-lieutenants, to settle some matters, and to hear complaints relating to the militia, I received a letter from Colonel Legge, Master of the Ordnance, intimating that Sir Christopher Musgrave, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, was ordered to come down to York by the King to take a view of the condition of that garrison, which occasioned my speedy journey to that place. I got thither early the next day, and waiting upon the lieutenant, he took the dimension and situation of the tower and castle, by the help of a surveyor brought with him to that purpose; took an account of the stores and ammunition in Clifford's Tower; and told me the King intended we should be better supplied, and that his Majesty would be at the charge to repair the defects of the tower (especially the parapet which was too weak), and to bring the river about it.

October 19. I returned home to Thrybergh.

November 20. I returned to York.

My Lord Mulgrave was now disgraced at Court for making some applications to my Lady Anne Stuart, the Duke of York's daughter, and on suspicion of adhering to the Duke of Monmouth's interest. He had great employments at Court, which were disposed of after this manner: his bedchamber's place to the Earl of Feversham, his government of Hull to my Lord Windsor, his lieutenancy of the East Riding to the Duke of Somerset, and his regiment of foot to my Lord Chesterfield, &c.

The sheriffs of York being then chosen, I was invited to their feast, with my Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and their wives, with a great deal of other company. My lord and I sat at the upper end of the table and the ladies below us. I did endeavour upon this occasion to deport

myself with all the good humour and civility to the citizens that was possible, the former animosities between the town and the garrison before my time as well as a difference in principles having made them strange the one towards the other. In which I so well succeeded that I did not only obtain great expressions of kindness from them that day, but some effects of it afterwards. Indeed, the conjunction of affairs at that time did in some measure help towards it, the King's influence increasing every day, both in London and the country. A loyal lord mayor was this year chosen for the city of London, and two very good sheriffs. My Lord Shaftesbury stole over sea into Holland, and the charter of London was likely to stoop to the *quo warranto* brought against it.

Some few days after my Lord Mayor invited me to dinner, and my officers, with what company I would bring with me, and gave us a great entertainment. Several aldermen and the Recorder did also invite me.

November 28. I invited the sheriff of the city, some aldermen, and the militia officers there to dine with me, where I gave them a good dinner and plenty of wine at the Manor, with music, which was very excellent in that town at that time.

At my first being governor of York, the officers of five companies of foot within that place, of Sir Thomas Slingsby's regiment, were so angry that Sir Thomas was not made governor, that some of them said, when they heard that I had the command of the militia (which they were) within York, as well as of the standing force, that they would rather lay down their commissions than be commanded by me. At this time, being better acquainted, they changed their note, professing openly that they did desire nothing more than an opportunity to venture their lives under me. And I heard after that, when they met at their club, which they did once every week, they

always drank my health before their colonel's, and were kind to me in their discourse.

The city of York had been more remarkable than most in England for height of faction, but finding that some of the leaders were willing to come off, I had upon the 4th of December some private discourse with Mr. Alderman Ramsden, one of the most wit of the whole fraternity. I set the danger so well before him (except they made some speedy signs of repentance for their former carriage), that he confessed he was sensible of their errors as to many particulars—viz., in choosing so often the same representatives in Parliament, when they knew how ungrateful it was to the King; in their unhandsome reception of the Duke of York when he passed through the city; in petitioning for a Parliament, but in neither addressing nor abhorring. But that being done, he feared their offence was too great for pardon, except they obtained it at the price of their charter, which they were not willing to surrender. I asked him what he thought the city might be persuaded to do less than that. He said three things, if they would be accepted. 1. To lay aside Alderman Edward Thompson (a peevish antimonarchical fellow) from being their lord mayor, to whom it came in course for next year, provided his Majesty would command it by letter. 2. To choose a new high steward, and to offer it to his royal highness, in place of their old one, the Duke of Buckingham, whom they would put out; or to Lord Halifax, should his highness not accept it. 3. To elect better members of Parliament for that city, when there should be occasion. These things, he told me, were feasible would they be received; which I presently wrote to my Lord Halifax concerning.[1]

[1] An undated paper, in Reresby's hand-writing, among the Spencer MSS., must have been drawn up about this time. It runs thus:—

'The loyal party in York is much inferior to the factious. The first consists of the gentry, clergy, officers, and dependents of the church, militia officers

December 7. I returned from York, a place then full of company (my Lord Carlisle and many other families being come to winter there), to keep Christmas at Thrybergh.

December 13. Hearing the sad news that the Duchess of Albemarle was gone distracted (eldest daughter to the Duke of Newcastle), I went to condole with him at Welbeck, where I found him very sensibly afflicted for so great a misfortune.

December 20. I received a letter from the Marquis of Halifax, wherein he gave me his thoughts that though he approved the laying Alderman Thompson aside from being lord mayor (as had been proposed), yet he thought it not safe to venture the King's letter upon it to the

and soldiers, and about one-fourth part as is computed of the citizens. The second of the mayor and whole magistracy (two aldermen only excepted), the sheriffs and most of the common council, with the rest of that city. Not that this number so much exceeds the former by reason of principle as influence, there ever being a great many in such a body that either from fear or interest join with the strongest, and several there have confessed that they dare not act according to their judgments (viz. for the Government) for fear of being undone in their trade. It is now come to that, that there is not only a separation of interests, but few do buy of, or have any commerce but with those of their own principle. And this nice difference has been contrived by eight or ten persons of that city and this county—viz., Sir Henry Thompson and Sir Jo. Hewley, the late burgesses of York; Ed. Thompson, alderman (a close sensible fellow); Alderman Waller, a rich attorney, very spiteful but open, that put up the inscription in the church (the memorial against the papists); and which the chancellor tells me he has now order to take down; . . . . . one Rooksby, a lawyer rich and well versed in his calling, that steers them in their proceedings as to points of law; Sir John Brook, who married Sir William Waller's daughter, has been twice burgess for Boroughbridge, one of little judgment and less courage, but the only churchman among them; Mr. Stockdale and Mr. Paulins, who are only called to advise as emergency requires; with some few others more inferior. I fear there is little to be hoped for from these leaders; the only way to gain others will be to possess them that whilst they that are the magistrates suffer themselves to be so governed by men for their particular advantage, who can never essentially serve them, they expose themselves to several hazards, and which is the greatest (both as to interest or reputation), his Majesty's displeasure. . . . . My Lord Fairfax, it is thought, will not stand for knight of the shire, nor Sir Jo. Hewley for burgess of York.'

corporation, except the success was absolutely certain; and the rather because affairs went so well above (especially that of the *quo warranto* against the City charter), that all other corporations would truckle; and should the King's letter not be considered, it would rebound in the face of the Court, and be an encouragement to that party. As to the second, which was the choosing his highness for their lord steward, he did judge it unfit for him upon several accounts; but for himself (if it were so done as that it should not seem to be desired by his lordship, and that it appeared, should the thing miscarry, that he had a considerable number of friends for him therein,) he was content to attempt it, and would put himself and the management to me; using this compliment, that he knew himself to be in very good hands as to this affair if I undertook it.

I returned him this answer, that I would not undertake it but under such cautions as his lordship directed.

December 24. I kept Christmas at Thrybergh, which it was formerly the custom to observe with great mirth and ceremony, but was much lessened, few keeping up the custom of it in those parts at that time but myself, when I was at Thrybergh. The manner of it for this year was thus:—

Sunday being Christmas Eve, I invited all the poorer sort of my tenants of Denby and Hooton, being nineteen in number. On Christmas Day the poorer sort of Thrybergh, Brinsford, and Mexborough, being twenty-six. On St. Stephen's Day all the farmers and better sort of tenants of Thrybergh, Brinsford, and Rotherham, being in all fifty-four. On St. John's Day all the chief tenants of Denby, Hooton, and Mexborough, being in number forty-five.

On the 30th of December there were invited to dine with me eighteen gentlemen and their wives from several parts of the neighbourhood. On the 1st of January

were invited sixteen more gentlemen; on the 3rd, twenty others; on the 4th, twelve of the neighbouring clergy, and on the 6th, seven gentlemen and tradesmen of Rotherham and other places.

There lay at my house upon these several days Sir Gervase Cutler; Anthony Francland, Esq.; Jasper Blythman, Esq., justice of the peace; John Peebles, Esq., a justice of the peace; Mr. Turner; Captain King, an officer from York; Mr. Rigden, merchant of York, and his wife, a handsome woman; Mrs. Blythman and her daughter; Mr. Belton, an ingenious clergyman, but too much a good fellow; the cornet and quarter-master to my troop, with others. For music, I had two violins and a bass from Doncaster that wore my livery, that played well for the country; two bagpipes for the common people; a trumpeter and a drummer. The expense of liquor, both of wine and others, was considerable, as well as of other provisions; and my friends appeared well satisfied. I dined two days from home this Christmas; one day at Sir Gervase Cutler's, another at my Lord Strafford's. Though such remarks as these may seem frivolous to others, yet to posterity of one's own family (for whom this work is chiefly designed) they may appear otherwise; that sort of curiosity being as well pleased with enquiry into less things sometimes as greater.

CHAPTER X.

Halifax and Lord Rochester—The missing Hearth-money—The Duke of York and his Favourites—Opinions in the City—Despondency of Halifax—Court influence used against him—Danby still in the Tower—The Duchess of Albemarle—The Duke of Richmond supersedes Buckingham as High Steward of York—Celebrations there—The Rye House Plot—Alarm in Yorkshire—Activity of the Justices—Lord Burlington—The Scotch Pedlars—The Doncaster Corporation—Dispute in York Minster with Sir John Brook—Archbishop Dolben—Affairs in London—Monmouth surrenders himself—Charles's fondness for him—Jealousy of the Duke of York's Party—The Lord Mayor of York summoned before the King—The Duke of York and Halifax—A Duel by Moonlight.

1683.

February 9. I set forward for London, as my Lord Halifax had directed, in the hackney-coach, and on the 14th I arrived there. Waiting on my lord, he said these things to me in return of my thanks for his extraordinary kindness to me, that so long as he had power to serve any man, I might be sure he would not decline the serving of me. He told me the steps and progress of his late dispute with my Lord Hyde, now made Earl of Rochester, the First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, occasioned by his lordship's telling the King of 40,000*l.*, part of his revenue of hearth-money, being converted to some private use of which the Lord Rochester could not but know, and was grossly suspected to have a share; besides some other miscarriages in the management of the revenue, which no man had the courage to inform his Majesty of, but my Lord Privy Seal. He told me they had first a dispute about me, which he could not forget, Lord Rochester being angry at my being

made governor of York, when he endeavoured to get it for my Lord Burlington, and which his lordship told me was the root of their endeavours to throw me out ever since.

He told me further that he had lately brought in my Lord Sunderland to be secretary, by engaging the Duke of York for him, who now seemed kinder to that lord—who had done all he could against him in the late Parliaments—than to his lordship, who did all he could to serve him, and had most considerably opposed the passing of the Bill of Exclusion (with some other disappointments of the same kind from that quarter). For all this he was very well with the King. It was not in their power to remove him, though all the other interest engaged against him.

February 16. My Lord Halifax told me some hard usage he had received from my Lord Rochester, contrary to their mutual engagements of confidence and friendship one towards another when he first entered into business at Court; and that when he had a promise to be Lord President or Lord Privy Seal (which should first happen, as the Privy Seal did), the Lord Rochester underhand did endeavour to obtain it for Mr. Seymour, rather than for his lordship; that the King gave him then the honour of marquis, which he never desired, hoping that it should satisfy him instead of Privy Seal, but that his lordship would not decline the other also, and so got both, which occasioned Seymour's leaving the Court as dissatisfied. That however, the King commanding it, he would live fairly with Rochester, but he must give him some assurances of his being more his lordship's friend than my Lord Sunderland's, ere he could much confide in him. That he would keep in his corner, and hear what was offered for the King's service, and not be afraid to declare what he heard to his Majesty's disadvantage, whoever was concerned in it; and whenever he had power, he would distinguish between his friends and those that were not so.

February 19. The fraud concerning the 40,000*l.*

lost to the King, in letting off the duty of hearth-money, by my Lord Rochester, and the other Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, came to be argued by counsel on both sides before the King; where it did appear that the King did actually lose so much of what he might have had from others. Yet so great was my Lord Rochester's interest (being supported by the Duke of York, my Lady Portsmouth, and my Lord Sunderland), that little notice was taken of it for that time; only whereas some of that lord's friends did reflect upon my Lord Halifax, as too busy in making that discovery, the King justified him so far as to say openly that day in Court, upon the trial, that his lordship had done nothing in that affair but by his order and approbation.

February 20. My Lord Halifax told me I had formerly mentioned some desire to go envoy extraordinary, and if I had the same inclination now, he durst undertake to get leave for me to be sent in that quality to the King of Sweden. I told him I heard ambassadors were but ill-paid by the King, and that being now in another station I had no mind to take an employment of that kind.

I kissed the Duke of York's hand, who seemed very civil, but his smiles were not always real, though I never did anything to deserve them otherwise.

February 21. My Lord Halifax told me this was not the only matter that would appear, as to the ill management of the King's revenue; that the anti-Court party courted him at so great a rate, he feared it might occasion a jealousy elsewhere.

February 24. The sessions of Middlesex at Hick's Hall, which had lasted five days, ended the 24th of February, where the most considerable business was in punishing such as resorted to conventicles. The town's discourse was generally concerning the difference of the two lords, where my Lord Halifax, who had discovered

the cheat, had the general applause. That day my lord told me the Duke made it his business to clear himself from being concerned in the least on either side, and that his highness should come to him before his lordship would apply himself to his highness in that affair. That his lordship had been the day before with the King, and was two hours in private with him, where he took notice of a report that my Lord Rochester was to have the white staff of Lord High Treasurer given him; but his lordship hoped it was not intended, because at that time it would look ill in respect of the difference between the two lords, and seem to throw the right on that side where his Majesty bestowed so great a sign of his favour; that the King said that he should not be Lord Treasurer the sooner for what had lately been done by my Lord Rochester in that concern; and was angry with my Lord Halifax that he gave credit to any such rumour.

February 28. My Lord Halifax told me the Duke had assured him that he was not concerned in the least in the difference between him and my Lord Rochester. My lord replied he was sure his highness would never do an ill thing towards him; and if he did, that his lordship would never do anything to oppose him, but he could not serve him with the same zeal, and he might at some time repent he had lost his service to the degree he desired to use it for him; that he had done in all this no more than he was commanded to do by the King, and who was there so great in the kingdom to be displeased with a man's acting according to the King's command? that he found they had a mind, meaning Rochester, to be rid of him, and would possibly endeavour to make his station uneasy, but they should not remove him; first, because he would stay to serve the King, and secondly, to disappoint those that endeavoured to contrive his absence; that all his lordship had attempted to do in this matter was to save the King's money, and could there be a greater

service to his Highness in future than that; that the King had made him a bigger man than he deserved to be, but he was a gentleman, and that his highness ought to consider those that had escutcheons as well as those that had none (three of the Duke's chief favourites, viz., Legge, Churchill and Hyde, being scarce gentlemen). For his part, that he would never say anything but truth to his highness; but though it might look a little plain, yet nothing could carry more respect in the bottom than truth, with much to the same effect. To which the Duke replied, that whatever he said did seem very reasonable; that he was sensible of great obligations he had to his lordship, and would never forget them, but would serve him in what lay in his power, and his lordship should find it.

The same day his lordship said he had spoken to my lady Duchess of Portsmouth, and told her, upon some discourse, that he found, in case of need of his Majesty's favour, he was not to expect many friends from that side of Whitehall; that she replied, that some that had been much his friends came thither sometimes (meaning Rochester), and she hoped they would be so again. His lordship replied that he doubted much, however, of her intercession in such a strait, and hoped he should avoid coming into the danger of making use of it; at which she blushed, and seemed to be in some confusion. He said further that were he as young as he had been, he could be as well with her as others.

The Court and the whole town seemed infinitely divided upon this matter. Those that had any dependence upon payments out of the exchequer durst not but seem to side with Lord Rochester; those that were thinking, serious men, who were independent and wished well to the Government, commended the zeal and courage of my Lord Privy Seal, who would not see 40,000*l.* of the King's money misemployed, and who durst complain of it, where so great a man with his dependents were made enemies by it. The Whigs (as they then called them)

or the anti-courtiers commended Lord Privy Seal not only for the thing, but as hoping to gain him by this quarrel to more moderation.

March 1. At this time all Christendom seemed to be in danger of a war, the rebels of Hungary having called in the Turks to assist them against the Emperor; and, one or two excepted, all the princes of the Empire, the kings of Spain and of Sweden, joining in defence of the Empire against the Turk on one side, and the French King (likely to fall upon Flanders, or some of the princes of Germany,) upon the other; whilst we enjoyed a happy peace at home, and which was the more likely to make it last, was the death of that so busy and factious Lord Shaftesbury, who was fled not long before into Holland.

March 5. I dined with several wealthy citizens in London, as I had done twice before since my coming to town. I found it the most general opinion there that the exchequer was not managed to the King's advantage as it ought to be by the commissioners, and that my Lord Privy Seal had done a great service to the Crown to reveal the late fraud, wondering that the King took no more notice of it. I told my lord this, with some circumstances to the same purpose, who said it was necessary for him to estrange himself from my Lord Rochester, lest he might be thought to be privy, if not a party, to some things of which the other was suspected.

The King's revenue came now to about 110,000*l.* per annum, and there was a project on foot to farm it, and offers were made of it accordingly at 140,000*l.* per annum by sufficient persons, and 500,000*l.* was offered to be paid beforehand as a security, and not to be deducted till the last half-year; this farm to continue for three years. My Lord Privy Seal was believed to be the chief promoter of this, which my Lord Rochester as much underhand discouraged, inasmuch as he sent to some of the richest citizens, desiring them not to concern their estates in this

project. This one Hornby, a banker, worth 80,000*l.* by reputation, confessed to me. It was much admired that any one durst withstand so great an advance to the Crown for his private interest. My Lord Privy Seal thanked me for this discovery.

March 20. My Lord Privy Seal and I went to Hyde Park. He told me he hoped I did not repent of my coming up at his request, since I could not have been so well satisfied how affairs went, both public and private, without being there; that he knew not how long he should keep his station (being driven at so fiercely by some); but he did think he had the King his friend, and could not believe that he would part with him for having committed no fault, except it were one to obey his commands, assuring me that he would ever use his interest so long as it continued to serve me, and in that particular especially of the government of York. But, said he, times may come, if the Court should fall into French councils, when some other station may be fitter for you than that; and if that come to pass, I must quit mine also, for I have greater endeavours against me from the other side of the water than from home.

I told his lordship that either he must continue, or be laid aside. If the first, he must rise higher to some greater post; and if he should arrive to any place where was room for me under him, I would quit any other employment to serve him. If he went out, I cared not for staying in; and if I did, he might be sure it should not be longer than I could act upon safe and sure principles.

When I came into the country he bade me turn the report of his disgrace into raillery, till he gave me notice of his retreat, which he would do early if he found it was not to be avoided.

March 22. I went to see my Lord of Danby in the Tower. I found him speak much more obligingly con-

cerning my Lord Privy Seal than before; and amongst other things he said his lordship had taken a prudent course to declare himself for a Parliament, and he was glad of it upon a private account; for he despaired of coming from thence till there was one. He said that Rochester and his party might support themselves for a time, but the interest they went upon could not last long.

March 23. Seeing my Lord Privy Seal, and telling him what had been said by my Lord Danby, I found my Lord much abated as to his enmity with that lord. He told me he had enemies enough besides, and that his displeasure against him was now ceased; but he would not make more enemies by being his friend, as he had formerly done by being his enemy. So that I found my Lord Privy Seal making up his interest on one side, as my Lord Rochester was endeavouring on the other; for he had also sent for Mr. Seymour to return to Court, and had promised to be his friend. My Lord Privy Seal told me that Seymour had made some proposals to close with him, and that a reconciliation was endeavoured by Rochester's friends between the two lords. I told his lordship that, in my poor opinion, he had better stand upon his own interest than join with either, for he had now gotten a national interest by what he had done, in opposition to Rochester. In case he closed there again, he might lose that; and if he could support himself separate, he might keep both; or in case he fell, the King would find the want of him so much, he could not be long spared from Court. He said it would be hard for him to continue there with these men, for it was their interest to remove him. They would be apt to play tricks for their own advantage; and knew so long as he was in a station to be informed of such carriages, he should ever reveal them to his Majesty. He said further, that if they should get the King to themselves, they could

not long keep him, for he had one quality that would preserve him from being very long in ill hands, which was he would hear all persons, and admit of informations by the back door, when those that seemed favourites little dreamed of it. He lamented the interest that the Duchess of Portsmouth had with the King, she betraying him to France, not only as to his councils, but in his affections. He said the King was too passive in these things, and that it was his greatest fault that he would not be persuaded to resent some things which he clearly saw, as he ought, and keep up that height which belonged to his dignity. As to my particular, he told me I had enviers as well as himself, and that when I came into the country I might endeavour to demean myself so as to gain as much as it was possible. I said it would be hard to gain people in the post I was in, their envy I hoped being more against my preferment than against my person; but I would follow his advice in that as well as in all things else that I could possibly. I took leave of his lordship that night, and set forward for Yorkshire the 23rd day of March.

Upon the whole matter I perceived my Lord Privy Seal had the better and most approved cause, and my Lord Rochester the better interest. The first weighed more in parts, in his family, estate, and his reputation in the nation; the other weighed more, though undeservedly, with the Duke of York, the Duchess of Portsmouth, my Lord of Ormond, and most of those at Court, who depended upon the King's purse, of which his lordship was the chief dispenser. And the fear was that the diligence of these so near the King might work upon him, so as to relinquish my Lord Privy Seal, who depended upon no other person nor interest but his own; and those services that he not only had performed, but was best able to render the Crown.

March 26. I arrived happily at Thrybergh, coming

that day from Stamford, where I found my wife and family well.

April 7. The Duke of Norfolk, being then come to Rotherham to build at the college, came to visit me.

April 9. My lady Duchess came to see my wife.

April 10. I went to wait on his grace the Duke of Newcastle at Welbeck, where he seemed so concerned at the report of the government of York's reduction, that he offered to write to my Lord Rochester, and the other ministers above, how necessary he thought it to be continued, and that he would do the utmost he could to effect it. He asked me if I was to go ambassador for Spain, for he had heard from the Duke of Norfolk and others that it had been offered to me. I told him it had been proposed to me to go abroad in that quality, but not for Spain. However, it was not improbable but if I had desired that station or province (the last envoy, Sir Henry Goodricke, being returned), I might have attained to it as well as others; but that now I was grown too old to think of leaving my own country, though for so honourable employment. He told me a secret relating to his family, that his daughter, the Duchess of Albemarle, had received and concealed a love letter, which her lord knew of, which had made her dissemble herself distracted; but that she was not disordered, as she pretended, and that both the one and other were great misfortunes to him; yet he had rather she were guilty of the letter than the distraction, because it was an imputation on the rest of his children. He told me several other concerns of his family too tedious and not very pertinent in this place, and showed me several letters from some great men, and one from my Lord Rochester, wherein were several professions of kindness for himself and assurances of the like from the Duke of York towards his grace.

April 11. I heard the city of York had made choice of the Duke of Richmond for their high steward, which I

was not sorry for as the affairs of that city then stood, and the interest the Duchess of Portsmouth then had with the King, my Lord Privy Seal having declined it out of respect to the Duke of Buckingham, who was to be put out before any other could be admitted. The Duchess took this very kindly, and upon receipt of the patent for that office, which the city presented the young duke with in a gold box, her grace sent my lord mayor a letter of thanks, wherein she said the King was well pleased that the second city of England had made choice of her son into that office, and assured him and the corporation of her utmost services. The Duke of Buckingham took it as ill on the other hand to be put out, and wrote a letter whereby they might easily know he did so. The Duke of Buckingham was then very well with my Lord Privy Seal, so that I was at some loss to know how to behave myself between those two interests in that matter; however, I thought it fit to write a letter to Colonel Oglethorpe, chief commissioner of the Master of the Horse's place for the Duke of Richmond, wherein I desired him to acquaint the duke and the Duchess of Portsmouth that I was glad that the place where I had the honour of being concerned in such quality had expressed its loyalty by making so good a choice of a lord high steward, though it received a much greater favour by it than it conferred; and that every person that had any concern in that city would, I hoped, for the future endeavour to show their zeal for the King's service in the first place, and next for his grace's.

April 17. The general sessions was held at Pontefract for the whole West Riding, where appeared seventeen justices of the peace; but the business was chiefly managed by my Lord Downe, Sir John Boynton (the King's Serjeant-at-law), Sir Jonathan Jennings, and myself.

May 23. I went for York with my family. I lay by the way at the house of Sir Philip Hungate, who had

lately married my cousin german, Mrs. Monson, daughter to the Lord Monson, one of the unfortunate judges of the late King.

May 29. Being the King's birthday, the sheriff of the city, three aldermen, Mr. Chancellor of the Court of York, and several other gentlemen dined with me, where they were entertained with what provision the place afforded, and with music, the great guns from the Tower, and at night the common people had wine and ale at a bonfire, which was made before the Manor gate. During my stay there I was entertained at dinner by several of the citizens, with my wife and family, and received great civilities from them; only my Lord Mayor (brother to Sir Henry Thompson, who died at that time, both very anti-monarchical persons,) I had no commerce with.

I received at this time a letter of assurance from my Lord Privy Seal that he continued in the same degree of favour with his Majesty, notwithstanding many flying reports to the contrary; and because it was noised abroad that he was not advising to the match then transacting between Prince George, third brother to the King of Denmark, and my lady Anne, second daughter to the Duke of York.

June 16. I returned back to my own house at Thrybergh without any accident. God be praised!

June 26. Came the report of a dangerous conspiracy against the life of our sovereign lord the King, laid by the anti-Court party, composed of such as had been disappointed of preferments at Court, and of Protestant dissenters. It was also against the Duke of York, and intended to have shot the King and the Duke coming from Newmarket in their coach, the certain day of his return being known, by forty men well armed, who, after the blow given, were to fly to London, and to report that the papists had done it. In London there were a body of

men ready to rise, to make themselves masters of the City and Tower, and consequently of the whole kingdom —the Prince of Orange being in Holland (the next right heir to the Crown), and the Duke of Monmouth being ready to head the rebels.

This was most miraculously prevented by a fire happening at Newmarket, which, burning down a great part of the town, caused the King's departure from thence ten days sooner. It was afterwards designed against the King and the Duke as they came from Hampton Court, which was also disappointed by the Duke's not coming with the King, their design being either to kill both or neither. This and the like disappointments put it into the head of one of the melancholy conspirators, that God, to use his own phrase, was against them in this design, which disposed him to go and reveal it, as he did accordingly. Upon this, several of the contrivers fled, as the Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Grey, who made his escape after being taken. Sir Thomas Armstrong and many of them were taken and committed to the Tower, as the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Russell, and many others. At the same time I received directions from Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, to cause strict search to be made for one Mr. Goodenough and one Mr. Nelthorpe, two supposed to be fled northward upon the said account, by sending warrants of search and of hue and cry to several places.

June 28. I went to York, where I used the same diligence, and got my Lord Mayor to assist me therein by his civil power, he granting me a warrant directed to all constables to assist my soldiers in the said search, and was very ready to give me what assistance he could for the King's service in that particular.

June 30. I had several expresses to stop all suspected persons, and to examine and commit such as I thought dangerous, from the Secretary, my Lord Privy

Seal, and Lord Lieutenant. I used what diligence I could in this affair, and gave an account above every post of my proceedings.

July 3. My Lord Burlington acquainted me that he had appointed the deputy-lieutenants to meet him at York, and desired me to be there. It was there that such as we supposed to be disaffected and dangerous to the Government should be disarmed.

My Lord Burlington was under these circumstances at that time, that he was looked upon above as a cautious man, that had no mind to venture too far for fear of his great estate, and so seemed to carry fair with all parties. This made him now more free than usual, that he might not be suspected to incline in the least to that faction; wherefore he courted me at a great rate, wrote to me every day, advised with me sometimes by letter, sometimes by meeting me in the middle way between Lancsborough and York, in all directions which he received from above; desired me to join with him in the forming and signing a congratulatory address to the King for his escape from this danger; and desired me to frame a letter for him to the deputy-lieutenants, there being more present that understood the method of these things better than myself, though he passed this compliment upon me before them all, that no man was better in that sort of composition.

July 6. I was invited to dinner to my Lord Mayor, who gave me a very handsome entertainment, and declared his great desire to keep a fair correspondence with me, owning how much the city had been obliged to me, but showed the King's command for it from the Secretary at the same time.

Six Scotchmen being stopped at Ferrybridge by directions from the Secretary, coming from London towards Scotland, and being but slightly examined by the justice of the peace, I caused them to confess much more to me,

which I transmitted to the Secretary, as also the examination of another of that nation, who was sent to York Castle, and proved a very dangerous rogue. These seven were sent for up by habeas corpus to the King and Council, and gave evidence above as other Scotchmen did upon their examination, that the conspiracy was general in both kingdoms amongst the discontented and fanatic party; and that several being, or pretending to be, Scotch pedlars were emissaries from thence to keep correspondence with that party here. Upon this I wrote up above to offer if it might be seasonable to cause a strict search to be made for all Scotch petty chapmen or pedlars, and to cause such as were found dangerous upon their examinations before the next justice of peace to be secured, the rest to be whipt and passed according to the statute. This was very well approved, and at our next sessions at Leeds and Rotherham many were taken and examined, amongst which some of them proved dangerous, and declared it their opinion that in some cases it was lawful to take up arms against the King, especially in that of conscience.

July 12. My Lord Burlington desired me to go to Leeds to promote this search after Scotchmen and the disarming of the disaffected, which I did with the approbation of all the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, there being some fifteen in number.

July 13. I came to Thrybergh, where I found my third son, John, very ill.

July 17. The Tuesday after I went to Rotherham sessions, where I pursued the same work, and caused strict watch and ward to be kept in that division.

July 19. I designed to return to York the next day, but was prevented by the unhappy death of my poor boy, a very hopeful and witty youth. This was a sensible grief to me and his mother.

In this time I received six letters from Mr. Secretary

Jenkins, in one of which there was this expression: 'I see how diligent and zealous you have been in his Majesty's service and in the faithful discharge of it in all things relating thereto, &c. I would encourage you to go on in his Majesty's service as you have constantly done, which hath justly gained you my esteem.'

September 11. The mayor and aldermen of the corporation of Doncaster, with several other members of it, made me a present of two runlets of white wine and claret, and sent word that they would dine with me the next day, which they did, and received such entertainment as gave them satisfaction.

September 18. I mustered my troops at Doncaster, where I entertained the mayor, some aldermen and several gentlemen, to the number of eighteen, at dinner at my charge.

September 27. The mayor of that corporation sent to invite me to dinner, it being the feast at his going out of his mayoralty, which I accepted, and sent him a buck, and was very well entertained. My Lord Castleton dined there the same day, whom I had not seen to converse with him of some years. He surprised in calling for wine and drinking to me as soon as he came into the room.

I about this time received a confirmation of the bad news that my sister, notwithstanding all my endeavours to prevent it, and her often repeated vows never to do it, had married one Burke, before mentioned, a fellow that had raised himself from a common soldier to be a lieutenant of foot, but neither of parts, person, fortune, nor extraction, and at that time out of all employment. It was a great trouble to me.

October 4. I went to a meeting of the deputy lieutenants at Doncaster.

October 8. There was another day appointed for the same service at Barnsley, where I was likewise.

October 12. Sir John Kaye came to pass some time at my house, with his wife and family.

October 13. I received news by letter from my Lord Halifax, that I had the King's leave to go to London, which I desired to have, that I might be near the King at a time when I thought he would take new measures as to the scheme of affairs, officers, and other public concerns for his own and the nation's security, after the late hellish conspiracy.

October 23. I went to my command at York. The Sunday following, being in the Minster, I found the cushion which used to be in my seat removed into the next where Sir John Brook was to sit (a person that I, with other deputy lieutenants, had thought fit to disarm in our late search for arms). This person rising at the psalms, I took up the cushion and replaced it in my seat. Service being ended, Sir John asked me if I had the same commission to take his cushion that I had to take his arms. I said I took it as my own, as I should always do when I saw it misplaced; and if he took his being disarmed ill from me, he made choice of an ill place to quarrel in, and that he durst not say those things in any other. The next day I expected to hear from him, he seeming very much disturbed with this treatment; but not sending to me for reparation, the next morning I sent the captain that then commanded a company in York, to tell him that I had stayed some time at home, thinking to hear from him, and believed the reason why I did not to be the character I bore in that city, and did therefore now send to him to tell him, that if he had any resentment either for my taking his cushion or arms, I was ready to give him satisfaction as a private person. He returned me this answer—that he was most concerned at my taking away the cushion, because it did prevent his giving it to me, which he intended, but that for satisfaction he thought what had passed between us did not oblige

him to ask it in his circumstances, and he was willing to be quiet. So that the substance of the matter was this, that he was foolishly placed under such circumstances as to own himself offended, but not to see himself righted. I could have been very well content that no occasions of such disputes had offered themselves, but when they do. I have found that the best way to prevent them for the future is not to seem too backward in seeking reparation.

I waited one day on Dr. Dolben, late Bishop of Winchester, and now lately translated to the diocese of York, who received me with great kindness and respect; and afterwards on my Lord Mayor, with whom I dealt something freely in matters which he had lately done relating to the King's service; but we parted very fair. I returned to Thrybergh the 30th.

After settling my affairs there, though much interrupted by the visits of many neighbours to take their leave of me, I set forward for London, October the 14th, with my wife and family, where I arrived without any accident, on Saturday, the 19th.

By visit to my Lord Privy Seal, I found him still in the King's good esteem; that the Duke was not so grateful to him as the services done by him deserved; that the differences between him and my Lord Rochester lasted still, and with more acrimony than before. Waiting upon the Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, he told me the King liked my carriage in respect to his service in the country very well; that the Lord Mayor of York was sent for up, by order of Council, for some words he had spoken, and asked my opinion of him, in which I spoke according to my judgment. The King received me graciously, and the Duke seemed kind to me, and my Lord Rochester the same, to whom I paid a visit.

October 21. Mr. Sidney, one of the conspirators, was tried for his life, and found guilty of high treason.

I found the hopes of a Parliament a great way off,

though Flanders lay under the danger of being won the following spring by the French, and the nation was dissatisfied for the want of it—that is, such as were against the French interest. The Grand Prior of France being come over, and observed to be very kind to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and she to him, gave so great a jealousy to the King that he sent him away, and 'twas suspected the duchess would not stay long behind, which few people seemed sorry for.

I had heard from a great man that something would shortly happen that would give great mortification to the Duke of York and that party. And it seemed to be explained on the 24th, when the Duke of Monmouth, suspected to be fled into Flanders or some other part of the world beyond sea, for the conspiracy, surrendered himself to Mr. Secretary Jenkins at Whitehall, where (the thing before concerted) the King and the Duke went to him, and after an hour's discourse allowed him to go to his lodging in the Cockpit, attended by his own servants, and under no other restraint than that of one sergeant-at-arms. But what was said or done might be conjectured, but not known. This was a great surprise to all people.

October 25. Waiting on my Lord Privy Seal, he told me that he doubted not but the Duke of Monmouth's admittance to the King and the Duke (for that day he had kissed the King's hand, the Duke's, and the Queen's), would have various interpretations and guesses by whose intercession chiefly it came to pass. I told him the report of the world was that the Duchess of Portsmouth and my Lord Sunderland had done it, and that it was publicly known that the King had said in Council the day before, that it was at the request of the Duke of York, to whom he had made submission and disclaim of all competition to the Crown. My lord said that was a mistake, for the Duke of York and his interest had opposed it to the last; and did own that himself had chiefly

laboured in it, and brought it to effect. He gave me several reasons as well public as private for his so doing, not so fit here to be mentioned. By this it appeared that, notwithstanding the great interest against this lord, he reserved a great power with the King. I found by his lordship that the Duke of Monmouth had confessed the truth of the late plot to the King and Duke, but would not give any public evidence against the conspirators. But 'tis certain whatever interest it was that effected this matter, the King himself had a great hand in it, who had a paternal kindness for the Duke of Monmouth, and could not contain himself from giving open and public expressions of it wherever he met the duke; and the duke, on the other hand, showed all the respect and diligence imaginable in attending upon and following the King.

November 28. The whole Court began now to discover, that though the Duke of York seemed consenting to the Duke of Monmouth's re-admission into the King's favour, it was not freely, but from necessity, the King declaring he would have it so; for the Duke was not made privy to it above two days before it came to pass.

November 29. The King then, as he came from my Lady Portsmouth's, asked me, leaning upon my arm, if I knew sufficient matter for bringing a *quo warranto* against the charter of York. I answered, No, but would endeavour to inform myself. I said I feared I could not do it so well at this distance as if I were upon the place. The King replied, 'I only recommend it to you.' My Lord Mayor of that city had denied leave to a mountebank, that had the King's own recommendation, to erect his stage in that place, which he, having complained of, his Majesty gave me order that it might be suffered without my Lord Mayor.

December 4. My Lord Mayor being come up, came to see me, and desired leave, when he came before the

King for his justification, to make use of my name, so far as to say that the governor knew how ready he was in the time of the plot to give all the assistance he could to the discovery of it and of the persons suspected of it in the country, which I gave him leave to do. I knew that the Duke of York, who thought him accessory to his once ill reception at York, wished his punishment. However, I did the man right to justify him in what I might, and to carry him to my Lord Privy Seal, who promised to assist him at the Council; for I knew there was some private animosity in the complaint against him, and hoped it might be a means to make him a thorough convert to the Government, if he was but mercifully handled in this matter.

December 5. Being at my Lady Portsmouth's, the King told me there was a new complaint against my Lord Mayor of York, and that he feared he was but a bad man. I said that I was obliged to acquaint his Majesty with this truth, that he was very ready to give me his assistance in York at the time of the plot, but that I had nothing to say in his defence for any new matter laid to his charge, and which might be committed since I came from thence.

December 6. The Duke of Monmouth, having obtained his pardon, refused to sign a public declaration of his knowledge of the late conspiracy, for which the King sent to discharge him from coming into Whitehall. My Lord Privy Seal said to me that the manner of doing it was something hard (as it was required), but he ought to have submitted entirely to the King in it. I found his lordship was concerned (as he had reason to be, being looked upon as his friend in the matter of his admittance) that he was so obstinate. The same day, Mr. Sidney was executed on Tower Hill, as one of the conspirators, but

ing before he suffered, only left a paper with the

ich I heard the King say was very treasonable

and evasive, but absolutely negative as to the fact of which he was accused. It was not thought fit to be allowed to be printed. I found the Duke of York was much displeased with my Lord Privy Seal, though he showed it not openly, that he was not consulted on the affair of bringing in the Duke of Monmouth; and it was my Lord Privy Seal's expression that the Duke would never forgive him it. But the King being the chief instrument of it, it did not appear that his lordship lost any interest with him, though the Duke of Monmouth performed not what was expected from him.

The confederates in Spain, Holland, Sweden, &c., that were now preparing to resist the French, and to preserve Flanders, were very angry with us that we still continued in our neutrality, and, as the Spaniard said, contrary to our league with him; but our King said his own affairs were in so ill a posture at home, that he was not in condition to come into the war. This confirmed the jealousy of our adhering to the French interest, and of a private commerce with them, by the means of the Duchess of Portsmouth.

December 11. It was much reported in town that my Lord Privy Seal was not well with the King upon the late affair with the Duke of Monmouth, and that he met with discouragements at Court to so great a degree as to make him leave business. My lord told me, upon my acquainting him with this, that he had met with discouragements from some, but not from the King, for he was as well there as ever; and that there would be a further production of affairs, in a little time, than was expected, and so pointed at the thing that I guessed what he meant.

December 16. Being with the Duke of Albemarle, he told me he was sorry to find that my Lord Privy Seal, only out of design to outdo his adversary, my Lord Rochester, should have so great a hand in bringing in

the Duke of Monmouth, whereby he had lost much of the Duke of York's friendship, and a great number of the loyal party that were all his friends before. The Duke of York had told him not many hours since, that if my Lord Privy Seal had no friendship for him, yet, as being the King's brother, he might have told him of the design, and not have brought in Monmouth without acquainting him with it in the least; that he could never forget the former services done by my Lord Privy Seal; but he took a method to bring it to pass were it possible, for to his knowledge he was yet labouring to reunite the King and the Duke of Monmouth.

The Duke of Albemarle said his highness knew his own relation to my Lord Privy Seal, but his loyalty and respect to his highness were more valuable to him than all that, and he hoped my lord designed no disservice to him in that affair; with much more to the same effect, his grace seeming to lament my Lord Privy Seal's actings in this concern.

I told his lordship these particulars, to which he made this answer, that this complaint from the Duke looked as if he had a mind to be upon better measures with him; but that he had not seen the Duke of Monmouth since he last went from Court, and that, he only acting in that affair by the King's commands, could not acquaint the Duke with it when his Majesty would not allow him to do it; but said on Wednesday after he was to dine with the Duke of Albemarle, and should then be better able to demean himself in this matter, if he spoke to him in it, by knowing of it before, for which he thanked me. His grace had told me further, that if the Privy Seal would trust him, he could tell him a way to be too hard for Rochester, without using such means as this to effect it.

December 18. Dining in the City with six gentlemen of quality, coming away with two of them after dinner,

they quarrelled in a coffee-house, where we stayed to drink coffee; and though I did what I could to reconcile them, went presently out and drew in the street, and made a pass one at the other, but missing one another, closed. By this time I got into them and broke one of their swords, and so they were parted. The one of them, which was Major Orbe, eldest son of Sir Thomas Orbe, of Lincolnshire (the other's name was Bellengeambe, of the North, the chief of that family), not thinking this full satisfaction, notwithstanding all my endeavours to make them friends, challenged Bellengeambe a second time; and taking coach, and I with them, bought new swords by the way, and came towards Hyde Park to fight. As we came by the way, I offered to be second, since they would fight, to either of them, and the other should look out for another to be his. Mr. Orbe chose me, and bid Bellengeambe seek his friend. Bellengeambe said he never would make use of any second, but would decide it presently by moonshine, for it was nine o'clock at night and very light, and would confide in my honour to see fair play done between them; which at the last I accepted at both their entreaties. By the mercy of heaven, missing one another's bodies as they passed against one another the second time, and closing together, I came in to part them, and Mr. Orbe's footman doing the same, we held their swords so as no mischief was done; only Mr. Orbe had a slight prick in the thigh, Mr. Bellengeambe had a raze on the forehead, and myself a slight hurt as I came in to part them. After this we went all to supper, and parted good friends.

The same day I received news that Sir Roger Strickland had a design to stand for Parliament man at Aldborough, and that some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, formerly my friends, upon the rumour that I intended to stand at York, had recommended him to that

borough, but the design was, I knew, privately to oppose me; Sir Thomas Slingsby and Sir Thomas Mauleverer being both very angry that I still continued governor of York, and had an interest in York, where they were hated and were reputed papists.

CHAPTER XI.

Halifax's Arguments to the King for a new Parliament—Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and the Middlesex Magistrates—A hard Frost—Successful Efforts to release Danby—His Reception at Court on leaving the Tower—Reresby and the Duchess of Portsmouth—James's Speech about Buckingham—Diversions at Newmarket—Rochester and his Friends—Lord Dartmouth—The York Charter—The King's Birthday—Jeffreys at York Assizes—Sir John's Entertainment of him—Conduct of the York Corporation—Changes in the Ministry—Triumph of Halifax—At Nottingham Castle—The French Interest—Danby in the Country—Festivities at York—Reresby proposed as a Member for the City—Christmas at Thrybergh again.

1684.

January 2. I learnt from a great man that no Parliament was near, and that some near the King were designing other measures than those of Parliaments. He lamented, at the same time, that now when the fanatic party had nothing to say or argue against the Government, they must have some colour of complaint given them by this and some other things in agitation.

January 10. My Lord Privy Seal told me he had been very earnest with the King for a Parliament, but to no purpose; that he had used for arguments that, though the King had slipped his opportunity of calling one soon after the last plot, when he could not have missed of one according to his own desire, if he feared not to have a good one now, the longer it was deferred the worse it would be, till at the last it might be used as an argument never to call one at all. That nothing ought to be so dear to him as to keep his word with his people; that the law required a Parliament to be called every three

years; that his Majesty had promised upon the last dissolution to observe the laws, by a proclamation setting forth the reasons, at the same time, why he had dissolved that Parliament; that the general use of such proclamation was that he intended to call another within the three years, and that he feared an ill construction might be made of his not doing accordingly; that though the anti-monarchical party was very low and discouraged, yet this might raise discontent in another party, those which were for the service of the Crown, but for his Majesty observing the laws at the same time, especially where they had his royal word for it. However, if his Majesty thought fit to do it, he (Halifax) would not relinquish his service, but if he could find out any reasons as an excuse for his not doing so, would study to do it. So that there seemed no possibility of a Parliament, except we were compelled to it by a foreign cause; for if the war went on between France and Spain, we continued in danger that Spain and Holland would declare war against us.

January 15. The sessions for Middlesex being at Hicks Hall and the Old Bailey, my Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys had reflected upon the whole bench of justices of the peace of that county, by using general words, as he found fault with one of them, who indeed had acted not according to law for bailing a person that had committed murder, saying the justices of the peace for Middlesex did what they ought not to do, that they took no care of acting according to the law, or their duty, &c. Notice of this being brought to us sitting at Hicks Hall, and that his lordship had said this and more to the same effect in open court at the Old Bailey, I moved that some gentlemen might be sent to his lordship to require reparation, it being hard the whole bench should suffer in the esteem of the world for one man's fault. This was agreed unto, and I, being one of the four sent, so laid the

matter before him, that his lordship gave us such satisfaction as to declare in court that he meant to reflect upon no person, but only the person who did the fault, not upon so many worthy and eminent as well as knowing gentlemen.

January 17. The King and Duke both commanded me to take care at this sessions that Scotch pedlars might be punished within the county of Middlesex, for which matter a very strict order was made, of which his Majesty had an account from me that night, as also concerning some commands he had given me before relating to the charter of York.

January 28. At this time there was so great a frost (which began about the middle of December), that the Thames was frozen over below the bridge; there were bull-baitings and horse-races upon the Thames, coaches went and passed there as in the streets. The salt water was frozen upon all the coasts above a league into the sea, so that we could have no commerce from any part of the world, no ships or boats being able either to go out or come in.

January 30. I was desired by the Duke of Albemarle to acquaint my Lord Privy Seal with his continued project to farm all the King's revenue (with others engaged with him in it) at 1,575,000*l.* per annum, and to desire his lordship's assistance in it. My Lord Privy Seal told me it would intrench too much on my Lord Rochester to suffer that to be done, but that he wished the duke good luck in it, and would assist him what he could.

The Duke of York did now chiefly manage affairs, but with great haughtiness; yet my Lord of Danby was likely to get out of the Tower, against the Duke's will; for my Lord Privy Seal told me it would be done, that he was that lord's friend in the thing, and that the King had made both the Duke and Lord Rochester content with it. For all this, it was strongly opposed underhand by

Rochester and my Lord Sunderland; so that by their devices, though both the King and the Duke were hearty in it, the judges delayed my lords being bailed to the last day of the term. The reason was those two lords feared Danby might join with Halifax to weaken their interest.

February 10. Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, and some other gentlemen of Yorkshire, to show their diligence for the King's service exceeded mine, sent up an agent, with some matter whereon to ground a forfeiture of the charter of the city of York. Of which having early notice from a friend, I first went and informed the Duke of York and the Secretary with it, and used means to introduce their messenger myself to the Secretary, whereby I did prevent any jealousy at Court of my being too much a friend to that city, and them of the credit they pretended to have by it. And now it was resolved a *quo warranto* should be brought against that city, if the matter to ground one upon was sufficient.

February 12. My lord of Danby was bailed from his long confinement of five years, with all the popish lords that had lain there since the first plot, excepting the two that were dead.

The same day my lord of Danby came to kiss his Majesty's hand in the bedchamber, where I chanced to be present. The King received him very civilly, and when the earl complained of his long imprisonment, told him that he knew it was against his consent, which my lord owned with thankfulness; but there was no discourse between them in private. My Lord Privy Seal came into the presence soon after, and the two lords saluted each other but slightly. The next day, going from the Privy Seal to wait on the earl, my lord bid me give him his service and tell him that he should have taken a more particular sort of notice of him, but that he thought it might not prove so well for his service. The earl said that it was for that reason he took so also little notice of his

lordship, the jealousy being great of a friendship between them. My lord of Danby said to me, then he would go to his house out of town, and not meddle with public business; that he could, no doubt, arrive to it, if he would, but not upon that national foundation where he would only engage, declaring his aversion to a French or a popish interest. He told me further what had passed between the Duke of York and him at his late visit to him, after he had been with the King, whereby I found him disgusted with that prince; and that upon the Duke telling the earl that he had heard of something of slight he had said concerning him, the earl had replied that it was true he had often been so unfortunate as to differ with him in opinion, and had not yet found reason to repent of it, but that he never said anything against his person, and if anybody had told him that, they were but whispers and lies, and should be glad to know who were his informers. But the Duke evaded that.

February 16. My Lord Privy Seal, at my instance, obtained leave of the King for me to buy an independent company, and to have it removed from Portsmouth to York. The same day, thanking the King for it, I had a long discourse with him of the temper and condition of the city of York, his Majesty thanking me for my care of that place, but concluding it necessary that a *quo warranto* should issue out against their charter. I desired of him at the same time a lease of the manor, which he bade me petition him for, and he would advise with the Lords of the Treasury concerning it. I bought the said independent company of Captain Rowe for nine hundred pounds, but was not allowed to remove it for the present.

February 20. I found by my Lord Privy Seal that he and my Lord Danby understood one another.

February 22. I waited on my Lady Portsmouth (her son, the Duke of Richmond, being Master of the Horse to the King, and under whom the pages of honour

were admitted), to desire she would put the King in mind of a former promise he had made to accept my second son, Tamworth, in that quality when a vacancy should happen. She answered the King had already promised many, but she would speak to him concerning my son. The boy being then some twelve years old, was handsome, had good parts, and, I thank God, every way hopeful; and though he was fit in his nature and disposition for a Court, yet I long disputed with myself whether or no to put him into that way of education, which was more wicked and debauched at that time than in former ages. But I considered it would prove a better provision for him than I was otherwise able to make, and that if he inclined to be ill, he might find opportunities for it in all conditions, and so resolved to place him there if I could.

February 25. I drew a petition, which, without amendments by my Lord Privy Seal, my Lord Burlington, and others, to whom I showed it, I presented to the King, which he received and sent himself to the Secretary to give it him with his own hands, ordering him to refer it to the Lords of the Treasury to report their opinions of it to him.

February 27. My Lord Mulgrave told me that he believed the business of my son's being a page of honour would succeed, for that he had accidentally heard of my pretension in that kind, and had seconded me in it to the duchess, who was serious in it, telling her several kind things of me and the antiquity of my family.

March 1. The King went to Newmarket.

March 14. I went by Cambridge to see my brother Yarburgh Reresby, then fellow of St. John's, and arrived at Newmarket on the 17th.

March 17. That night, waiting on his royal highness, amongst other discourse he was speaking of the Duke of Buckingham's consumption of his great estate, and of some other of his qualities (for he did not love him), and

as to his courage that nobody was better able to give an account of it than Sir John Reresby, meaning the business when he and my Lord Fauconberg should have fought at York.

The weather was very unseasonable and dirty, so that walking the town with his Majesty he observed I had but thin shoes, and advised me to get a stronger pair, to prevent getting cold, which I here mention as an example of that prince's great goodness and care of those persons that came near him, however inconsiderable.

Hearing soon after my arrival that the Duchess of Portsmouth had spoken again to the King to accept my son as his page of honour, I thanked her for it, who told me she would present him herself at her return to London to his Majesty. She invited me the day after to dinner, where his Majesty, having dined before, sat by us all the while. The next day

March 20, I dined with the Duke of Albemarle; the day after with the French ambassador by invitation. The same day that duke told me that he had received a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to be kind to me, and bid me when I wrote to him to assure him that he had commanded him a thing to do that he had as much a disposition to do as his grace to direct him to it.

March 22. Being mounted on a good horse of my own breed, both the King and the duchess commended him, but I had the ill-fortune to lame him as he came to London. That day the Court returned for London, and I went to Bury to see my Aunt Monson, whom I found in good health, though of great years. The next day I returned for Newmarket, and then to London.

The diversions the King followed at Newmarket were these:—Walking in the morning till ten o'clock; then he went to the cockpit till dinner time; about three he went to the horse-races; at six to the cockpit for an hour; then to the play, though the comedians were very indif-

ferent; so to supper; next to the Duchess of Portsmouth's till bed time; and then to his own apartment to bed.

March 24. I had an account from York that some of the corporation were for surrendering, others for defending their charter; and as that the consent must be general to do either, it would prove of consequence that it would fall into the King's hand by default of defence, which I acquainted the King and the Duke with.

The war in Europe seemed now again to be likely to go on between the French and the Spaniards with their confederates, the French King having offered either a truce or a peace for seven years upon such hard terms—for he would keep whatever he had taken from the Spaniards or the Empire—that it could not be agreed to. The King of England seconded the French King's proposals, and recommended them both to Spain and the United Provinces as reasonable, and offered to be guarantee of the said peace or truce.

April 2. My Lord Rochester's friends were advanced, and Mr. Godolphin, one of the commissioners of the Treasury, was made Secretary of State, in the place of Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had leave to retire by reason of his great age; but this gentleman had the assistance of the Duchess of Portsmouth also in that promotion. My Lord Privy Seal told me the same day that though all these interests continued averse to him, the King was as kind to him as ever. However, it was visible he was less in business than before.

April 3. I waited on my Lord Rochester at his house, who was very civil to me, to desire he would come to some resolution in the business of my petition for a lease of the manor of York as soon as could be with his convenience. He promised me he would, but could not despatch it as yet. That day the Duchess of Portsmouth presented my second son Tamworth to the King for page

of honour, who gave him his hand to kiss, and commended the child for handsome and well-behaved.

April 5. The King and Queen went to Windsor for the summer. I spoke to his royal highness concerning the intended sale of York manor, and gave him some reasons why it should not be sold, which so far convinced the Duke that he told me he was of the opinion that it was the King's interest to keep it.

April 15. My Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Ordnance, being now returned from demolishing Tangiers, and being better received by the King and Duke than was expected by his adversaries, each faction was ready to gain him to their side; but he told the King and Duke that he would join with nobody but himself for their service, and stand upon his own legs. When I told this to my Lord Privy Seal, he said everybody had not wit and strength to stand alone; that it was true he had done so, which he attributed to the King's kindness to him, and his good fortune, and to some measures (especially that of not seeking his own gain or profit) which his lordship, in his circumstances, was not so well qualified to follow, and that he had at the last this advantage by it, that he hoped ere long to find his greatest opponents court him for their friend (meaning Lords Rochester and Sunderland), for at this time it was given out that they began to disagree.

April 19. Sir Henry Goodricke, brother to my Lord Dartmouth, told me that the said lord was under some intention to make himself the head of a third faction, in opposition to those of Halifax on one side, Rochester, Sunderland and Portsmouth on the other, as the only way to bring things to a national bottom, which was the thing he contrived, being averse to fanaticism on the one hand, and to popery and a French interest on the other; and that himself had told my Lord of Danby of this, who approved it extremely, which would make him very great

or very little. My Lord Dartmouth touching at Cadiz in his return, my brother Jervase Reresby waited on him, and gave him a horse worth 200*l.*; but I found his lordship, however, not kind towards me in the business of my concern of the garrison of York.

April 24. I had some heats with Captain Burke, that married my unfortunate sister, and with Colonel Oglethorpe, at this time, but it came not to a quarrel with either.

My Lord Rochester gave charge to the solicitor who managed my suit against the Scotch pedlars, or rather defended it, that whatever the account of the expense were it should be brought to him, for the King would pay it himself. Waiting on my lord Chief Justice Jeffreys he told me I had proceeded legally in that affair, and that should appear when the cause came to be tried before him, and that he had given the same laws against Scotch pedlars as well as other vagrants in his late circuit, and by the King's order. The Attorney-general was also of the same opinion.

April 25. The charter of York being now likely to fall into the King's hand by default, Sir Thomas Slingsby and Sir Henry Marwood, myself, and others, met to agree upon persons for bearing office in that city, who were of best ability and loyalty; and made a list, which we presented to Secretary Godolphin, as the Duke had directed me, to which were added six gentlemen of the country for justices of the peace (though not freemen of the city), to be joined with them for the administration of justice within the same.

April 26. I received the unwelcome news by an express from York, that on St. George's Day, when four guns had been fired, the tower was set on fire, and all the inside of it burnt; only the powder and some part of the arms were saved. This happened in the worst conjuncture that could be (my Lord Dartmouth, Master of

the Ordnance being returned, who was no friend to the garrison,) to have it reduced. I went to Windsor to acquaint the King with it, who was so kind as to promise me it should continue, or, if not, he would not reduce it till he had provided for me in some kind as beneficial. He promised the same on my behalf some days after to my Lord Privy Seal; but I continued, however, doubtful of the issue.

May 1. My Lord Dartmouth told me that if I would accept of the lieutenant-governorship of Hull, with the same salary the King gave me as governor of York, he would obtain it for me, the present lieutenant-governor being likely to be removed; but I told him I could not in honour descend from governor to lieutenant-governor. He replied it was as honourable to be the King's lieutenant in so great a garrison as to be governor of a less. However, I resolved to continue the command I had if it was possible.

May 10. I went to Windsor, and there meeting my Lord Privy Seal, he had a confirmation from the King that York should continue a garrison, and that my company should be removed from Portsmouth garrison thither; and the King was so just to his promise in this particular, that of himself he gave orders that night at his couchée to the Secretary of War that an order should be drawn up against the next council day for his signing for the company to march.

May 11. This day the Duke of York was declared Lord High Admiral of England; at least to have the power, the name and the patent not being given, because of the Act of Parliament for taking the oaths and the sacrament. However, this did dissatisfy some people.

This day, the Queen being at dinner, the Duchess of Portsmouth, as a lady of the bedchamber, came to wait on her, which was not usual, and put the Queen into that disorder that tears came into her eyes, whilst the other laughed and turned it into jest.

May 25. Came news of the taking of Luxemburgh by the French king, which our Court seemed well pleased with; but others, and some of the King's best friends, were dissatisfied thereat, because it was looked upon as the key of Germany and Holland, as well as of Flanders, and might probably prove too great a setting up of the French.

May 29. I went to Windsor, it being the King's birthday, to wish him happiness and long life. There was a great crowd attending upon the same occasion, but not much gallantry of clothes. The Duke of York was then declared to be of the Council, commonly called the Privy Council, from which he had been excluded ever since the making of the statute for taking the oaths; nor did he now take the oaths notwithstanding his re-admission, which gave some occasion of discourse, as it was breaking through one of the most strict Acts of Parliament.

June 15. I took my leave of the King, who said to me that some that served him so carefully and so well as I had done should be in his thoughts, and that I should find it. I waited then on his highness the Duke, and desired his commands for York. He told me that he doubted not but I would do what became me, in order to his Majesty's service, and that as to his own particular he depended on me. I assured him I should never fail him in that trust; only desired him not to believe stories of me to my prejudice. For all counties had competitors, and that I could not hope to live without enemies, who had the honour to serve the King, before others of equal quality to myself, or of better, which did certainly create envy to me.

June 16. Carrying my wife to see the Duchess of Portsmouth, she invited her and my daughter to dinner, said very kind things to them, and desired me, whenever I came afterwards to Windsor, to make her table my own. That day I returned for London.

June 20. Sir Thomas Armstrong, one of those that were outlawed upon the late plot, and the debaucher of the Duke of Monmouth, being taken in Holland, was brought over and executed at Tyburn.

June 22. I visited my lord of Danby, who told me my Lord Rochester was making an interest with those they called the Moderate party, not, I suppose, so much from inclination as art, to rival my Lord Privy Seal, who was suspected to have a better interest, and consequently better able to bear the shock of a Parliament, in case one should be called, than himself. But Parliaments seemed things very remote; for it was that lord's opinion that we were in a very straight conjunction with France, that had taken Luxemburgh, and was likely to be successful according to their own wishes.

June 26. I set forward with my family for Yorkshire, arriving happily at Thrybergh the 1st of July.

July 8. I went for York, the assizes there being appointed to be held on the 14th, and my Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys having chosen that circuit. This gentleman, first known by the name Lawyer Jeffreys, then knighted by the King by the name of Sir George, made Justice of Chester, then Recorder of London, and last Lord Chief Justice of England (for his quick parts and boldness and zeal for the King's service, more than any perfect knowledge of the law) had been so obnoxious to all the late Parliaments, especially that of the year 1680, which sat at Westminster, that they did address against him to the King, that he might be laid aside from his chief-justiceship of Chester, and from all other his public offices and employments; but his Majesty would not consent to it.

This gentleman, in whom the King and the Duke both much relied, I resolved to receive with all the respect I could, and the rather because I had been formerly his client, and he had ever been kind to me. The night

therefore that he came to York, I caused my officers to receive him with a guard at the town gate, went to wait on him myself so soon as he alighted at his lodging, offered to receive orders from him (but he would not give them), set him two sentries at his door, invited him to dinner the next day, which he accepted, with his fellow judge, Mr. Serjeant Holloway, and several of the chief gentlemen of the county, to wait upon him. Another night, several men of quality, who took that occasion of coming down with his lordship to see the North, came and took a collation with me; and my lord himself came to me incognito one evening, and being a jolly, merry companion when his business was over, stayed with me over a bottle till one o'clock in the morning.

The matter of the quarrel between the corporation of Doncaster and my company (which was left to him to hear and determine) was found upon enquiry to be as much occasioned by the fault of the soldiers as the mayor and his brethren. We thought it therefore the best way (my lord himself approving of it) to take the submission of the mayor, which, partly out of fear, and partly out of respect to me, he was willing to make, and not to rip into the miscarriages of either, so both the mayor and the officers (especially the first) were reproved by his lordship, and so dismissed.

The seizing the liberty of the city of York was also suspended, by order from the King, till his lordship arrived, who, informing himself of the temper of that place (which he found not so bad as it had been represented), and the Lord Mayor and aldermen subtlely submitting to his lordship, and offering to give up their charter into his hands for the King's use, his lordship was content to continue their privileges till his return to the King, and, upon their invitation, to dine with the city. This was disgusting as much as it was disappointing to the Slingsby party (as it was then called), several of the new

named aldermen and officers having bought their gowns to enter presently into office, which vexed them the more. In this matter I intermeddled the least I could, not busying myself to inform his lordship either as to matters or persons, knowing that to appear for or against the town was equally dangerous, as his lordship might take or represent it, either at Court or upon the place, and the truth was the great prosecution against that place was more for private than public reasons. This manner of carriage contributed to make people of both factions very civil to me, so that I had more visits and respects paid me than I ever had before for the time I stayed, which was near one month. I saw my company here complete, and it was a very good one; and having two companies in town, we made a guard of twenty every night.

The archbishop, first sending his wife to see mine, made me a visit at the Manor afterwards himself.

My Lord Chief Justice assured me at his going away that he would acquaint the King and the Duke how good service I did them in that place.

August 2. I returned to Thrybergh.

August 5. The general sessions for the West Riding were held at Rotherham, by adjournment.

August 27. I went to see my lord of Danby returned to Kiveton after his long absence and imprisonment. At this time some alterations had been made amongst the great men at Court, of which my Lord Rochester was one, being removed from First Commissioner of the Treasury to be President of the Council —a place though of greater precedence than the other, yet nothing so considerable either in point of profit or dependence, power always attending the purse. By this it was easy to guess it was not a thing of his seeking, but that his opponent the Lord Halifax had brought it to pass, which showed his interest was still good with the King. This was my Lord Danby's conjecture, which

was soon after confirmed to me, by a letter from my lord marquis himself, where he wrote literally in these words —'You may believe I am not displeased to see such an adversary removed from the only place that could give him power and advantage; and he beareth it with so little philosophy, that, if I had ill-nature enough for it, there is occasion given me to triumph. You see I cannot hinder myself from imparting my satisfaction to so good a friend.' But the wonder was how the finger of my Lord Privy Seal was able to effect this against the shoulder of the Duke of York, who continued Rochester's constant friend.

September 4. I went to the Duke of Newcastle at his castle of Nottingham, who lodged me there, though all visitors except near relations lay in the town. He entertained me with the stories of his daughter's marriage to the Earl of Thanet, which was privately done some days before, I having been the first that proposed it to the earl. The Duke of Buckingham had been there not long before, who had given him a long scheme of affairs above, whereby it should seem that the French interest prevailed still at Court. He told me Buckingham was angry with the Marquis of Halifax for refusing to admit of private communication with the French ambassador, when he offered to bring him to his lordship, and said his power would never be considerable because he was averse to that interest. In fine I believe there was little which the duke knew of this kind that he concealed from me. All the nobility of that and the neighbouring counties had met there at this time upon occasion of a horse-race, most of whom his grace entertained one night at supper and a ball.

September 7. I returned to Thrybergh.

September 20. I received a kind letter about this time from my Lord Marquis of Halifax and some others from several persons, by which I understood a probability

of some further changes at Court, and that his lordship stood very firm in his Majesty's good opinion. This made us believe that the French interest did something abate.

September 25. I went again to visit my Lord Danby, who was very ill of a quartan ague, and of his usual stoppage in his throat when he drank or ate anything. I found him in bed extremely weak, but he told me that if ever he lived to come into business, he would do me all the service that lay in his power. Two days after he sent his sons my Lord Latimer and my Lord Dumblane to dine with me at Thrybergh, and recovering, went soon after for London.

November 19. I went with my family to York. The two new sheriffs did ride and treat their friends several days, according to custom. They both sent to invite me and my wife to dinner the same day that the magistrates were entertained; where I went, and my Lord Mayor being at London, soliciting the business of the new charter, the deputy mayor would not take place of me, but made me sit in my lord's chair, and, with the rest of the magistrates present, used me with all the respect and kindness imaginable. Besides the magistrates there dined several chief citizens and many gentlemen, to the number of 300. One of the sheriffs entertained much better than the other in the merchants' hall, where there were several long tables well served, especially that where I sat, with all variety the season would afford, and not inferior to some entertainments in London upon the like occasion.

December 10. One of the leading and most intelligent magistrates, one Alderman Ramsden, told me that at a late meeting of the most eminent citizens there happened a discourse concerning me which ended in this, that the city was so sensible of my respects to them, that in case a Parliament should be called I might certainly be chosen to represent them there, provided I would

declare that I would accept of it. I answered that if I had done that city any service they should not say that I had any such end or design in it, as I had formerly declared I would never ask them to choose me; but if, when such an occasion should offer, they thought me worthy of that favour, I should not only accept of it, but do the city the best service I could in that capacity.

I stayed there till near Christmas, in which time I was visited by the Archbishop Dolben, and most of the best company in the town; many of them came to dine with me, and I gave the ladies a ball.

December 27. I returned to Thrybergh, by God's mercy, in safety, to keep Christmas amongst my neighbours and tenants.

I had more company this Christmas than heretofore. The four first days of the new year all my tenants of Thrybergh, Brinsford, Denby, Mexborough, Hooton Roberts and Rotherham dined with me; the rest of the time some four score of gentlemen and yeomen, with their wives, were invited, besides some that came from York; so that all the beds in the house, and most in the town, were taken up. There were seldom less than four score, counting all sorts of people, that dined in the house every day, and some days many more. On New Year's Day chiefly there dined above three hundred, so that whole sheep were roasted and served so up to feed them. For music I had five violins, besides bagpipes, drums and trumpet.

CHAPTER XII.

Hallamshire and the Hearth-tax—Quarter Sessions at Doncaster—Serious Illness of the King—Fears in Yorkshire—Preparations at York against Tumults—The News arrives of the King's Death—Proclamation of James the Second at York—Its Effect throughout the Country—Great Changes at Court—Reresby's Speech to the York Corporation—Chosen as a Candidate with Sir Metcalfe Robinson—Opposed by his Stepfather, Moyser—Aldborough in reserve—Canvassing the Citizens—Sir John heads the Poll—The Knights of the Shire—The York Apprentices—Fire at Thrybergh—Halifax and the King—The Coronation—Public Opinion—What the Catholics expected—Doctor Oates convicted—James's promises to Parliament—The Commons' Address—The five York Aldermen—Lord Burlington and Goodricke—Debates on Religion—Ways and Means—First News of Monmouth's Rebellion—Preparations against it—The Duke's Declaration—Reresby's Views on Taxation—Defeat and Capture of the Earl of Argyll—Arrogance of Jeffreys—Progress of the Rebellion—Its Suppression—Conduct of Monmouth—His Execution—The Duke of Albemarle throws up his Employments—Personal Matters—The Norfolk Family—Halifax laid aside—James's Speech to both Houses—Opposition to the Popish Officers—Reason of Halifax's Dismissal—Ways and Means—The King's Reply to the Commons' Address—A Member committed to the Tower—Parliament prorogued—Insolence of the Catholics—Court Favourites disagree—Numerous Dismissals—Reresby dines with Jeffreys.

1685.

January 15. An order being issued out from the lords of the Treasury for the collecting of the duty of hearth-money upon the smiths' forges in Sheffield and Hallamshire, after having made me but bad returns for the favours I had done them before in that case (I mean the cutlers and corporation there), they came to me to desire my assistance, that they might be excused from that duty, if possible, by my means and intercession. I told them it were much fitter they should apply themselves to the interest they had done lately, for I should

not concern myself any more in that affair; that as to favour, I doubted not but they thought themselves able to find it by others, or else their application would have been more constant to me; and as for hopes of relief by justice, the law was now much changed since this matter was first in question, by reason of the opinions of the judges given in the case, and of several verdicts both in the Courts of the King's Bench and of the Exchequer concerning it.

January 20. The general quarter sessions for the West Riding were held at Doncaster, where there appeared as justices Sir Michael Wentworth, Sir George Cooke (whom I had got put into commission, and who was there to be sworn), my uncle Yarburgh, Mr. Blythman, and Mr. Ramsden, when I gave the charge. A *quo warranto* being at this time sworn upon that corporation, they resolved to send up their charter, and not to make any defence against the King. I was suspected to have had some hand in this prosecution, but the true reason was a difference amongst the aldermen, who accused one another. Those who informed designed some change in the constitution of that body, the other party hoped to get both men and things to be continued as they had been before; and both parties desired my direction and assistance in it, but I denied to be concerned openly on either side. I only gave my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord Burlington some intimation how things stood, they being the persons to whom both sides intended to address above in this affair. The justices desired me to write to the first of these lords, and to enclose to him a printed paper containing libellous matter against the magistrates (composed by one of those dissenters called Quakers), to the end the King in Council might be acquainted with it; which I did, and all the rest of the justices subscribed to it.

February 2. I went to make a visit to my uncle

Yarburgh, of Campsall, and to my cousin Tindall, of Brotherton. It was here where I received the sad news, from the Earl of Burlington, that his Majesty had been taken upon the 2nd, about eight in the morning, with a fit of apoplexy, though they called it an epilepsy, and had continued dead near three hours, till at last he was returned to life by blooding, cupping, vomiting, and several other applications and medicines. His lordship had order from the secretary to write to me to take care, and to cause a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace to do the same, that no meetings or seditious assemblies should be made by reason of such a rumour. My Lord Burlington had sent his secretary with this letter, who came so fast that I received it upon the 4th of February, about two in the afternoon. That instant I began to write, and disperse letters by several messengers to so many gentlemen, that we had a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace the next day at Doncaster before noon, where, receiving an account by the post that his Majesty recovered, we only granted out orders and warrants for the militia to be ready to appear under arms upon an hour's warning, and that strict watch and ward should be kept in every town for the stopping and apprehending of such as did appear dangerous.

I wrote before to York, to my officers to double the guards, and to my Lord Mayor to be careful to keep the peace of that city.

February 6. I went to York, where the news being arrived that the King continued better, there were nothing but bonfires and signs of joy from one end of the town to the other.

February 7. The high sheriff of the county, with many of the chief of the gentry, came to York to consider which way to take to secure the peace of the county in case of ill news. That night we sat up together till one

in the morning, expecting the coming in of the post, which acquainted us at the last of the King's relapse, and the fears of his physicians that he might not recover. Upon this the sheriff, myself, and all the deputy-lieutenants there present, resolved to do our utmost, should the King die, to obviate all things to the best of our power that should anyways obstruct the Duke of York's just claim to the Crown; and considering that the safety of the county did most depend upon that of this city (for this they unanimously agreed to), they issued out orders that night for four companies of Sir Thomas Slingsby's regiment to be raised, and to relieve one another, by way of additional guard to the garrison under my command as governor.

February 8. Being Sunday, meeting the archbishop at the Minster, he told me he had an account that the King had been ill again, with an intermitting fever or some fits of convulsions, but that it was hoped he was out of danger, though my letters spoke in a different style.

February 9. I ordered the mail to be brought unopened to my house, so that no letters could be dispersed till I knew the true state of the King. The letters came not in till four in the morning, and then they gave me an account of my gracious and great master's departure out of this world upon the 7th, at night. I was up expecting the post when it arrived, and suffered no letters to go out till I had been with the Lord Mayor and the high sheriff, and had delivered their letters only to themselves, by which they had order, and myself also, from the Privy Council and the Secretary of State, to proceed immediately to proclaim the King, James the Second. So soon as we had prepared all things necessary for this ceremony, which was done before day, I gave leave for the dispersing of the several letters according to their directions, and by seven o'clock in the morning the high sheriff, met by the

archbishop and most of the gentlemen in town, went towards the castle yard to proclaim the King there, whilst I caused all the garrison, except the necessary guards, to be drawn together into Thursday market—viz., our two companies of the King's foot, and two companies of the militia then under arms—to oppose any tumult or insurrection that might happen on this occasion.

February 10. The King was proclaimed by nine in the morning by my Lord Mayor, myself and the high sheriff. The first did it in the usual places of the city for that ceremony; I did it to the garrison, drawn together in the Thursday market; and the high sheriff did it in the castle yard for the county. Afterwards I caused all the great guns to be twice discharged, and several volleys of small shot, according to the orders received from my Lord Sunderland. All this being done with every sign of peace and satisfaction that could be—not only in York, but afterwards throughout the county, and, indeed, the whole kingdom.

It was a strange effect of power from above, that so strong a party as had not long before appeared in Parliament to exclude the Duke of York from the crown of his ancestors should submit to his now coming to it with so great deference. But they knew well the difference that there was between the spirits of the late and the present King, and thought the first would sooner be induced, for peace sake, to relinquish his brother, than that the latter would tamely renounce his just possession of three kingdoms, out of fear of a war. That which in a great measure did quiet the minds and apprehensions of people was the declaration made by King James to the Privy Council immediately after the breath was out of the body of his brother, that he would defend the Government of England, both in Church and State, as by law established, that he would follow the steps of the late King in kindness and lenity towards his people; and

that as he would defend the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so he would invade no man's property.

I stayed at York, to take care that no uproars or disorders should arise there, till February the 15th, in which time I received letters from my Lord Burlington, wherein he told me that he had acquainted the King with the constant accounts I gave him of the state of that city and of the West Riding, and of my diligence in preserving the peace of both, with which his Majesty declared himself well satisfied; from the Secretary of War, Mr. Blathwaite, and my Lord Privy Seal to the same effect. At the same time I had notice from the Secretary of State that I was continued in my command; as, indeed, all officers whatsoever were for the present. However, there began to be great changes at Court. My Lord Rochester was made Lord High Treasurer of England; my Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council; but whether this preferment (though a degree higher in place) was desired or not by his lordship was a doubt, the trust and profit of privy seal being thought to be greater. At this time came the news that his Majesty intended to call a Parliament, to assemble in May next. After I received my letters I went to advise with some aldermen if they thought it probable for me to be chosen in York, which it was told me they did.

February 16. I came home to settle my affairs at Thrybergh.

February 23. I returned to York, where there was a great meeting of most of the gentlemen of the whole county, to sign an address to the King to condole the death of his late Majesty, and to congratulate the present one's happy coming to the Crown. It was accordingly done, and sent up within a few days after.

The same day I sent to my Lord Mayor to desire him to assemble all his brethren and the two sheriffs, for I had something to impart to them. Being met at my

Lord Mayor's, I made a discourse to them of about half an hour, setting forth the King's intention to call a Parliament, and of mine to represent them as one of their burgessess therein; of my constant practice in my command since I had it in that city to serve the King in the first place, and them in the next, and that I should do the same in Parliament as I had done there; that I had an estate of my own to venture in that service as well as theirs, that I had had some experience in Parliament to enable me the better to perform it, with several reasons to the same purpose. Having done, my Lord Mayor desired me to withdraw whilst he and they took what I had said into consideration; and then, calling me in again in less than one quarter of an hour, his lordship told me that by an unanimous consent they had resolved upon me for one of their representatives for that ancient and loyal city; that I did them an honour to accept of it, though they looked upon it as the greatest trust they could repose in me. I assured them I would never betray that trust, and returned them my hearty thanks.

February 24. I was invited to dine with my Lord Mayor and Sir Metcalfe Robinson, one that had been member for the city in the Long Parliament, and whom they had accepted for the other burgess in this; and the same day my Lord Mayor granted me the freedom of the corporation, and obliged Sir Metcalfe Robinson and me to join our two interests together, which he then promised.

February 25. I heard that one Colonel Jenkins and Mr. Moyser, my stepfather, intended likewise to stand there, persuaded to it by a party that was ever ready to oppose the choice of the magistrates in anything they did, for which reason there had been great feuds and differences between them. These were some of the most eminent of the Common Council of the city.

February 26. Mr. Moyser came to me and told me he

was sorry that we two were likely to be in competition; that it was not what he desired or sought, but he was put upon it by some people. I answered nobody could compel him in a thing of that nature; that it looked very unkind towards me, that he could not but be sensible that those who engaged him did it neither out of friendship to him nor aversion to me, so much as out of crossness to the mayor and aldermen to cause a disturbance and heats in that city, when union and agreement were so desirable there as well as in the whole kingdom, &c. At last he said if he knew but how to disengage himself without too rudely breaking with his party, he would study to do it. But hearing that he still pursued what had been begun (or his friends for him), I engaged my Lord Mayor to deny the granting of freedom either to him or Colonel Jenkins, and without it 'twas conceived they could not be chosen. Whereupon they endeavoured to procure a *mandamus* to be made free. The writs for elections being expected speedily, I continued to strengthen my friends and to increase them every day.

March 2. It being in a man's power in point of law to be chosen in several boroughs, and having been invited by my friends about Aldborough, I went thither; and calling the borough men together, after I had spoken to them, setting forth the obligations they had to me and the promises they had made me to choose me for the next Parliament, with such arguments as I was able to use to persuade them to it. They unanimously, one only excepted, promised under their hands to give me their votes, to the number of thirty-nine; all the electors for that borough being sixty-four. But being men of low rank, subject to change, and much importuned by others for that service, how they will acquit themselves is the question.

It was now out of doubt that the King was a papist, for he went publicly to mass; but he ordered the chapel

at Whitehall to be kept in the same order as formerly, where the Princess of Denmark went daily. The King repaired to the Queen's private chapel.

March 5. Having some occasions at home, I came for Thrybergh leaving my Lord Mayor in the firm resolution to deny freedom to Mr. Moyser and Colonel Jenkins.

March 9. I returned again to York and took my wife with me; but was surprised at my arrival there to hear my Lord Mayor, contrary to his word, had been wrought upon to give those gentlemen their freedoms or enfranchisements. That night I went to his lordship, who told me it was looked upon as a partiality in him to bestow it on one and to deny it to others; that the judges (who were then arrived, it being the time of assizes at York) had advised him to it, as well as some letters from above; and that he could not avoid the doing of it in case a house (consisting of himself, the twelve aldermen, the sheriffs, and the twenty-four commoners) advised him to it. This put me in some heats, taxing his lordship with breach of promise, and urging the ill consequences that might happen, not only in disobliging me by it, but the most of his brethren, who were still positively bent to deny their freedom; but all my arguments could not bring him back to his first resolution.

March 10. I went to the judges and told them that the reason why my Lord Mayor had taken this measure was only to prevent contention in the city and opposition to the magistrates by a sort of people who only endeavoured to set up those people for burgesses because the magistrates had approved of others; that should those gentlemen be now admitted into a capacity of being elected, what heats might be occasioned by it were very doubtful, or what breach of the peace; and if such things should happen it might reflect upon their lordships, since my Lord Mayor seemed now inclined to do it, and, as he pretended, by their advice. They answered indeed my

lord did say something to them in common discourse, but not by way of asking their advice; that his lordship ought, in the first place, to preserve the peace of the city, and that they denied that they gave their opinion in a concern of this weight, desiring me to go and tell his lordship so much from them. I did so immediately; but he having summoned a house, was not to be altered, and the issue at last was that it was carried by one vote only that they should be made free. They having gained this point, I found I was to use all diligence and to spare no charge, if I expected success; and therefore went about the streets from house to house (the aldermen attending upon me) to ask the votes of the citizens; and on the 13th I made a general entertainment throughout the town, viz., in three or four houses in every street, for those to entertain themselves with good liquor that had promised to be for me; though my competitors had begun that custom long before, to gain friends.

March 14. I had used means above by my Lord President to get the writ to be sent to me; it arrived that day, and was to be executed on the 16th, it being the next county court day in that city.

March 16. All the candidates went into the streets to gather their party to them, where it was presently seen I had a greater number of followers than any of the rest. At eight of the clock the poll began at the common hall, and lasted till six at night, when the books being cast up, there appeared that Sir Metcalfe Robinson had polled 781; Mr. Moyser, 770; Colonel Jenkins, 502; and Sir John Reresby had polled 937. So that the sheriffs published me and Sir Metcalfe Robinson duly elected for burgesses to serve in the next Parliament for that city. The charge I was at in this election came to 350*l.*, though it cost them more that lost it. It was believed in the town that my interest was the least, insomuch that Sir Metcalfe, who had promised to join his with mine, re-

ceded from it, and Mr. Moyser durst not do it either, believing his own interest the better; whilst Sir Thomas Slingsby's friends (who were against me) had written letters above before the day of election that I must certainly lose it, which made the victory the greater and very seasonable to me upon several accounts.

March 20. My Lord Clifford came from London to be chosen knight of the shire, with Sir John Kaye; there were none stood but those two. I paid my lord all the respect I could (knowing how welcome it would be to my Lord Burlington), by entertaining his lordship at dinner at the Manor, making him a guard at his coming up to town and at his going out, and giving him the great guns on the day of election for the county, which was upon the 23rd. That day I received the King's orders for Captain Sterling's company to march from York to the garrison of Scarborough, commanded by Sir Thomas Slingsby, which looked like an ill presage to what was then discoursed, that the King intended to dis-garrison the city of York.

March 25. The young men and apprentices of the city of York came and petitioned me in writing, that, whereas there had been formerly a custom there for the youth to exercise themselves in arms some days in every year (especially that of the coronation), which had, however, been discontinued for some years, that I would please to allow them to use the same liberty again, that they might thereby show their loyalty and gain experience to serve the King; desiring of me at the same time to be their colonel, and to appoint them such officers and captains as I thought fit. I told them that I would acquaint the King with it, and give them notice of his Majesty's pleasure therein; which I endeavoured to do by writing on it to my Lord President by the next post. I was not, I confess, sorry for this application of theirs, it

being a still further confirmation of my interest in that place.

The borough men at Aldborough, viz., the greater number of them, stood very firm to me all this time, and sent me word that they would choose me one of their burgesses, if I would come over, or any person that I would recommend to them. But being chosen already I gave them leave to make their own choice, which was cast on Sir Michael Wentworth and Sir Roger Strickland.

May 26. I returned to Thrybergh.

April 1. A servant going into the lofts of Thrybergh Hall, discovered that a fire had been not long before begun there, occasioned by an end of a beam fixed in a chimney, which took fire from the heat, and was burnt down and all the ends of the spars which rested upon it, and yet by the mercy and providence of Almighty God, for all the said wood fell down burning amongst other wood and lathes (which made the roof of the rooms) it extinguished of itself and went no further, nobody knowing either when it began or when it ceased—a good omen ; I hope that it is God's will that Thrybergh house shall yet stand.

April 2. I had a letter from my Lord President that he had spoken to the King, and found no reason to think that there was any design to dis-garrison York.

April 3. I received an address from York, signed by 440 young tradesmen and others there, which they desired me to present to the King as their congratulation for his happy accession to the Crown.

April 13. I set forward for London, leaving my wife and family at Thrybergh.

April 18. I learnt from my Lord Marquis of Halifax that he and my Lord Rochester, Lord Treasurer, continued kind, that he used his constant endeavours to serve the King, and would continue them, hoping his Majesty would put no discouragement upon them by imposing the

Popish religion, which he seemed sorrowfully to apprehend, though the greatest employments in the army of Ireland were now put in the papists' hands. He told me several passages of the late King's kindness to him, and certainly no man was in greater favour with him, when he unfortunately died, than the Marquis.

April 22. I waited on the King, kissed his hand, and presented him at the same time with an address from the young men of the city of York, which his Majesty received kindly.

April 23. I understood from my Lord Halifax that he had, in two particular and private audiences with the King, told him his mind with that plainness in relation to his service in point of government, that he wondered the King, considering his temper, took it with that calmness. He said some bills might possibly be insisted upon to be repealed in the next Parliament, which would deserve to be first well considered of; and some other things not so fit for this time and place.

The King was crowned, with the Queen, in the Abbey of Westminster, with all the pomp and splendour imaginable; only there was no cavalcade through the city as heretofore. The King and Queen went privately to the Palace in Westminster, where they, the nobility, and all the officers of the Crown, put on their robes, and so went through the Palace Yard—railed in and prepared on purpose—in procession to the Abbey, where, the ceremony being ended, they all returned to Westminster Hall to a most sumptuous dinner. Now began the consideration amongst gentlemen of the House what would be asked by the Court, and what would be granted in the ensuing Parliament, which consisted of a great many loyal gentlemen, and the generality, however, good patriots and Protestants. Some things to be asked were such (so report said) as gave more countenance to Popery than the laws then in force did permit—the settlement of a constant

revenue upon the Crown, suitable to that of the late King, and ready money besides for the King's present occasions. The repeal of the law of *habeas corpus* was one which I found the great men opposed in their private discourse, as well as some of us. A toleration or liberty of conscience which the Papists seemed to apprehend if it were general, some seemed willing to grant, but resolved at the same time not in any alteration to give a capacity to the Papists to come to any place or employment in the Government. In the affair of money, men seemed content to settle a handsome revenue on the King, and to give money, but whether this was to be a constant revenue or only temporary, to be renewed from time to time, that Parliament might be consulted the oftener, was the question. In all this concern, I resolved to do my duty to the Crown, but yet with a good conscience to my religion and country.

April 30. I dined with my Lord Mayor and the judges at the Old Bailey, where my Lord Mayor led me by the hand, being Sir James Smith at that time (my old acquaintance), and my Lord Chief Justice drank to me publicly at the table the healths of our friends at York, which made me believe that he was not privy to a secret design which was carrying on by Sir Thomas Slingsby and his party to put five aldermen of the greatest note in York out of employment, the charter not being yet passed, and intended as said by his interest.

May 4. I took my sons from school at Kensington, and put them to another in the same town.

These things were told me in discourse by Mr. Hilliard, Sir Roger Martin, and others, at this time gentlemen of interest amongst their party, the Papists—that the King would expect the taking away of the sanguinary laws, and the allowance of the practice of the Roman Catholic religion in private for the Papists, from the next Parliament; and that they, or at least such as had served the

Royal Family in the wars or otherwise, might be made capable of employment under him; that his Majesty would give satisfaction to the nation in Parliament as to the preserving their religion and properties, but if reason would not serve, he knew what he had to do; that the King would never divide his regal power by admitting that of the Pope here, he loved power too well himself, and therefore his adhering to the Church of England was but a good reason to the Pope not to pretend to urge him to admit of his supremacy; that it was reasonable of the King to insist upon the re-calling of the most severe penal laws against the Papists, else if he should die, he should leave them in as ill a condition as he found them. Such arguments were not wisely urged at this time.

May 7. I dined with the archbishop, who was very free with me in some things he had discoursed with the King, and in others he had said to my Lord Burlington, relating to his not being so active as it became him to be in preventing the turning out of some of the magistrates of York. He then said for all my Lord Chief Justice was to be a baron, he was not in that favour with the King as formerly; but it proved otherwise.

May 8. I waited on the King in his barge from Whitehall to Somerset House to see the Queen Dowager. This was the day that Doctor Oates, the great evidence in the popish plot, was convicted of perjury, it being proved that he was at St. Omer on the 24th of April, 1678, when he swore he was at the White Horse Tavern in the Strand, where Pickering, Groves, Ireland, and other Jesuits signed the death of King Charles II. The King said indeed there was a meeting of the Jesuits on that day which all the scholars of St. Omer knew was to be, but it was well Doctor Oates knew no better where it was, for it was held in St. James's, where the King then dwelt; for, said the King, if that had been understood by Oates, he would have made ill work for me. The King said upon

it that now Oates was thus convicted, the popish plot was dead. I answered it was long since dead, and now it would be buried; which he approved so well of, that going with him afterwards to the Princess of Denmark, I heard him repeat to her the same thing.

May 12. Came news that several arms had been bought up and conveyed from Holland for Scotland, and that my Lord Argyll, Lord Grey, and some said the Duke of Monmouth with 400 men, were gone either with them or after them.

May 19. The Parliament met at the usual places in Westminster. We did nothing that day but take the oaths, and choose Sir John Trevor speaker, whom the King accepted. The two next days were also spent in swearing the Commons and taking the test.

May 22. The King spoke to both Houses, giving them assurances to support and defend the Church of England, whose members had showed themselves so loyal in the worst of times, in the defence of his father, and the support of his brother; and to support the Government both in Church and State, as by law established; and that as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any man's property; desiring suitable returns from them in the settling of his revenue for his life, as it was in the time of the late King. He closed with an account his Majesty had received that day from Scotland, that Argyll was landed with men and arms in the western islands, and that he had published two declarations, in both which the King was charged with tyranny and usurpation.

The Commons returning to the House, voted his Majesty's speech to be speedily taken into consideration, and were so well pleased with the solemn security the King gave them as to their religion and property, that they voted him the same revenue for his life that the late

King had. Then they voted that the King should be thanked for his speech by the whole House in a body, in which the lords joined, and it was accordingly done the next day.

May 23. They voted an address to his Majesty to stand by him with their lives and fortunes against Argyll, his assistants and all other traitors whatsoever. This was presented to the King the same day in the banqueting house, who returned this answer, that he expected as much from a Parliament so well composed as this was of monarchical and Church of England men, and that he feared no enemies that he either had or might have, being thus assisted. As the King went out, coming near me he told me that I had contributed to this good work (for I had spoken in the House for the settlement of his revenue), and he hoped I would persevere. All things seemed now to look very auspicious, the King not giving the least token to change the religion, but much the contrary.

May 24. A subscription was obtained by the industry of Sir Thomas Slingsby, the high sheriff, and others to the number of eighteen gentlemen of the county, certifying notorious crimes of the five aldermen of York, and was presented to the King in order to their turning out. The archbishop seemed now cold in the case, my Lord Burlington the same, when my Lord Halifax, hearing the King speak of it and knowing my obligations to them, interposed and desired that since gentlemen did sometimes sign such papers upon credit, and that since neither the archbishop's hand, the lord lieutenant's, nor the governor's was there, it was fit the matter should be made known to them and the thing heard before they should be displaced. Further, that good lord was so much concerned for me that, finding Sir Henry Goodricke's hand to the subscription, he fell into a great passion with him for doing so, without acquainting me with it, pretending so

strict friendship and correspondence with me at the same time, that it had like to have made a difference between Sir Henry and me. But Sir Henry protesting to me that he intended no prejudice to me by it, and fearing to be under my lord's jealousy of betraying his friendship with any man (lest he might think him capable to do the same thing to himself), he prevailed with me to set him right in my lord's good opinion in that particular. My lord was very warm in telling me of this affair. He said Sir Henry had done ill to me in it; this was to make a cipher of the governor, and he reflected on Sir Henry Goodricke's understanding in general, and of his foolish carriage in Spain when ambassador there. The prosecution against the aldermen having met with this rub, I stirred in it the more confidently, but all to no purpose, for these gentlemen pressed their complaint so home and with that earnestness that the King declared in council the 29th of May that they should be turned out without being heard.

May 25. A motion was made in the House that something ought to be done to please the people, as well as giving of money, meaning to secure the Protestant religion. Upon which a debate arising, it was referred to the committee of religion.

May 26. It was voted in that committee that the House be moved to pass a vote to stand by the King, with their lives and fortunes, for the defence of the religion of the Church of England as by law established; secondly, that an address be presented to the King from that House, to issue out his royal proclamation, that the laws be put in execution against all dissenters whatsoever. These votes passed the committee, which was very full, *nemine contradicente.*

May 27. These votes being reported to the House, a great debate began whether the House should agree with the committee or not. The arguments against agree-

ing were : that this was to put the King in mind of a neglect of his duty ; that the fault was in the justices of the peace that the laws were not executed ; that these votes would alarm the kingdom, and express a jealousy of the King, when he had positively declared to defend our religion; that the King had told us the way to keep a good understanding between him and his Parliament was to use him well, but he could not resent this well from us ; that this might encourage the rebels already in arms in Scotland, &c. On the other hand it was argued that it would look ill to the nation that we, being Church of England men, after having begun to take care of our religion, and having made such votes in order thereunto, should let the matter fall and do nothing in it. At last the previous question was put, whether the question to agree with the committee should be put or not, and was carried in the negative. Then the whole matter ended in this vote, that an address should be made to the King by that House, that it did entirely rely and rest wholly satisfied in the King's declaration to them, to defend and secure the reformed religion of the Church of England as by law established, which was nearer and dearer to them than their lives.

May 29. Came news that Argyll had got into his own territories in the North of Scotland with 3,000 men, and was fortifying himself there.

May 30. The King came in his robes to the House of Lords, and passed the bill for the continuance of the revenue of excise and customs for his life.

When he had passed the bill his Majesty spoke to both Houses, thanked them for their cheerfulness and readiness in passing the same, said that the dispatch of it was as acceptable to him as the bill itself, but at the same time desired an extraordinary supply for the stores of the navy and ordnance, for paying the late King's debts to his servants and family, and for defraying the charge the

rebellion in Scotland was likely to put him to. He further recommended to them the care of the navy, which was the strength and glory of the nation, assuring them that he had a true English heart, and was jealous of the honour of the nation, pleasing himself with the thoughts, by God's blessing, and their assistance, to carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it was in the time of his ancestors.

Upon the consideration of which speech it was voted in the committee of the whole House that a supply should be granted to his Majesty for the uses expressed in his speech. It was then moved that part of it should be laid upon wine and vinegar by way of additional duty on those commodities, which I did speak to promote, being desirous it should be laid upon anything rather than land.

Colonel Jenkins, one of my competitors in the election at York, had attended from the beginning of the Parliament to find some member of that county to prefer his petition to the House against the election of me there, and could not find one to charge himself with it all this time, till at last Sir Hugh Cholmely presented it. I being then in the House, opposed its reception, and was seconded by Sir Henry Goodricke, that it should be thrown out for some reasons then offered. But it was admitted and referred to the Committee of Elections.

June 1. There was further given towards the extraordinary supply an imposition upon sugars and tobacco. This was much opposed by many members of the House, who had either themselves or their friends an interest in the plantations; and they argued that as the French were now endeavouring to encourage the planting of those commodities in their plantations, this imposition might put a discouragement upon ours, and cause our servants and slaves, who would not be so well paid by us, to run over to them. To this I answered that if the rates imposed should be so great as to raise the rates of

those commodities here so high that they would be less sold, what they seem to urge was reasonable. But if they sold as much as formerly, it could neither prejudice our plantations or navigation; besides the Act was to be only temporary, and if it was found prejudicial, it might be repealed and something else given the King in lieu of it. Several spoke to the same purpose, and it passed that 6*d.* per lb. should be imposed upon Spanish tobacco, and 3*d.* upon that of Virginia and of other places; that 1*d.* should be laid upon white powder sugar, one halfpenny on Muscavado, and so proportionably on other sorts that should be consumed at home, and to be paid by the buyer. I spoke three times on this concern, and was told by my lord president and others that I had considerably assisted to the work, which I had several reasons to promote at this time.

June 11. Came an express from Lyme, in Dorsetshire, to the King, which brought news of the Duke of Monmouth's being arrived there, being landed not far off with one boat of thirty-two guns, and two less boats bringing arms for 20,000 men, several officers and soldiers to the number of about 200; that several ordinary people flocked in to him from that factious country; and that he declared himself the protector of the Protestant religion and against Popery. The King sent down the Duke of Albemarle with all speed, being Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Dorset, to raise the militia, and after him some companies of the standing foot and six troops of horse and dragoons. Lyme is naturally strong, so that not above three abreast can enter the town at once; the Duke of Monmouth stayed there, the town being at his disposal, and before the 14th came notice that he was 3,000 strong. But the Duke of Albemarle had raised the militia, and was marching towards him with some 8,000 men.

June 12. The King sent to the Commons the news

he had received of the Duke of Monmouth. Upon the receipt of it they voted his Majesty their thanks, and to go to him to offer themselves in a body of the whole House to carry their own address, wherein they promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, against that ungrateful rebel James, Duke of Monmouth, and all others whomsoever.

June 14. The King had an express that Argyll was come into his own country out of the island where they intended to block him up. The same day the Duke of Monmouth's declaration, which arrived the day before, was sent by the King to both Houses, which passed a bill of attainder against his grace that very day, and voted 5,000*l.* reward to any that should apprehend the duke, and bring him to the King, dead or alive. This declaration charged James, Duke of York—for so it styled the King—with the burning of the city, the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, the murder of Colonel Sidney and my Lord Russell, with poisoning the late King, and tearing his crown from his head; with being led by popish councils, with packing the present Parliament (it not being one freely chosen); and he (the duke) came to revenge these things upon the King, and would never come to any terms or accommodation till it was done; that he would give no quarter to those who opposed him, and therefore desired all good people to come in and assist him. He further declared that he had a just title to the crown, but he would not claim it till he had called a parliament, which he would fully satisfy in that matter, promising that parliaments should sit every year, and not be dismissed till all grievances were redressed; that he would give liberty of conscience to all persons, even to papists; with much more to this or the like purpose.

June 14. An express brought word that the Duke of Monmouth had marched out of the town with 200 foot and 100 horse, had lighted on some forerunners of the

Dorsetshire militia and killed some persons of note, as Colonel Strangway's brother, and some others, and taken some prisoners; but that advancing to the main body they were repelled, put to flight, throwing away their arms and losing some prisoners.

June 17. An additional supply was voted to the King towards the defraying of the war against the Duke of Monmouth and the rebels; and the House resolved into a committee of the whole to consider of the manner, and there it was voted, 1st, that it should be laid upon such new foundations as had been built upon within the compass of the bills of mortality since the year 1660, excepting the late general fires in the City of London and the borough of Southwark; 2ndly, that it be laid only upon the rents of such houses for one year; 3rdly, upon such foundations as are now laid; 4thly, that a clause be brought in to prohibit any more buildings within the said limits; 5thly, that the House be moved to order that a bill be brought in to the said intent. In all which the House was with the committee.

I spoke thrice in this debate, first in answer to the gentleman that said this was laying a tax for a public use upon one piece of a county and upon private persons, to which I replied that this one county drained all England of its people, especially the North, our tenants all coming hither, finding by experience that they could live here better in a cellar or a garret than they could live in the country on a farm of 30*l.* rent; that hereby this little piece of England had laid a tax in a manner upon all the rest of England, and was a nuisance to all the rest; and therefore it was not so improper that it should be taxed separately, and the rather because it was never taxed before, or but once very little. Some moved that it should be laid for one year and a half; but that I opposed, for I said there were some few foundations taxed in Oliver's time, and that tax was laid but for one year in

the worst of times, and therefore we ought not now to lay it for a longer period in good times. It was moved that more money might be laid upon brandies towards this supply to the King; but this I spoke against, saying it was fit this should be computed how much it would arise to, before another fund was encumbered or more money voted to be raised.

June 18. The King sent to desire the Commons that they would vote him credit upon some fund, for such a sum as they should think fit to give him, towards the suppression of this rebellion in the West; and that they should so prepare their business as to be in a condition to adjourn for some time, within a few days. They resolved, upon this, into a committee of the whole House, and voted the sum which was to be given to the King as it had been debated the day before to be 400,000*l.*, appointed a committee at the same time to inquire and to bring in an estimate of what was one year's value of the rents of new buildings upon new foundations.

Now the Court seemed more concerned at the increase of the Duke of Monmouth's forces, which were reported to be 4,000 foot, and four troops of horse, with the which he had marched towards Taunton, a populous and factious town, and made himself master of it, two regiments of the militia that were in the town running away when they heard he came near the place. The Duke of Albemarle had orders all this while not to fight him till the standing troops came up to him, which were expected to join him on the 20th.

June 20. Some 2,500 men of the guards, horse and foot, marched to reinforce the troops sent before to the Duke of Albemarle, commanded by my Lord Feversham. Several new troops were ordered to be raised at the same time, three regiments to be commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, my Lord Ferrers and my Lord Dartmouth, with four independent troops of horse commanded by Sir

Thomas Mauleverer, Mr. Fairfax, son to my Lord Fairfax, and others. The same day the Commons finding that the fund of the new foundations would prove tedious to raise the tax upon, laid the tax upon French linen, brandies, and East India calicoes, linen, and wrought silks, according to several rates from all parts, and ordered a bill to be brought in to that purpose.

My Lord Halifax took ill from me that I had been active in the House in the debate of taxing new buildings, he having a deep concern therein; but I told him it was my judgment, and that if my father's interest were in it I should have done the same thing. However, it was my great trouble that he of all men should disapprove of anything I did; but we presently understood one another, and he said he was sorry he had said anything to disturb me. This was the only time we seemed to differ, and it was soon over.

June 22. His Majesty received this news from Scotland—that the Earl of Dumbarton, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland, having notice that the rebels had passed the river Leven above Dumbarton, marched from Glasgow to Stirling and overtook them near Killearn, where they intended to fall upon them, but that night prevented and gave the rebels opportunity to steal away and to get into Renfrew. The Earl of Dumbarton pursued them with his horse and dragoons, and on his way understood that they were running away in great confusion. The same day, which was the 18th of June, three servants belonging to some gentleman of Renfrew, found the Earl of Argyll running away in the habit of a countryman, with a blue bonnet on his head. They asked him who he was, but he refused to tell his name, or to render himself, till, being wounded in several places of the head, and fearing to be killed, he confessed he was the Earl of Argyll. Whereupon they took him prisoner and carried him to Glasgow, where he was com-

mitted. The King sent to give an account of this to the Commons, who returned their thanks to his Majesty for it by the members of the House who were privy councillors. The King returned this answer to the Commons, that he was every day more and more satisfied of their loyalties, for which he returned them his thanks.

June 23. The King received notice that the Duke of Monmouth had written to the Duke of Albemarle by the name of his trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, charging him upon his allegiance to come in to his aid; so that now he took upon him the title of King; that he was marched from Taunton towards Bristol with about 5,000 men and boys, and that the duke was following after him.

June 24. I dined with Sir James Smith, Lord Mayor of London, whom I had formerly known very intimately. He was of a club with some other loyal aldermen of the City, where I used to go, when the fanatic plot was in contrivance. He told me that he had the title of Lord Mayor, but my Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys usurped the power; that they had no access to the King, nor any message or direction from him as to any business but by that lord; that whatever was well done in the City was attributed to his influence and contrivance; that himself and the aldermen were but looked upon at Court as his instruments; and that upon all occasions his lordship used them contemptibly, and not according to the dignity of the City. In fine, he said my Lord Chief Justice was to be pitied, for his haughtiness would undo him, and that he intended to acquaint the King with these things; but that this was not a fit time for it, because it might look like mutiny. I told him the King knew his services and integrity too well for that; and, in my opinion, it was the fittest time to expose a man in that credit at Court, because it would be most regarded now. I was sorry to see so good men dissatisfied in any particular; but I was not so

to see this proud man so understood, for he had used the city of York as scurvily as that of London, in contributing underhand to the putting out of five aldermen, when he had engaged at York to keep them in, and had assured them of it afterwards, and that too without allowing them to be heard as to the crimes of which they stood accused. My Lord Mayor said he had done the same thing several times in London, and that many were laid aside from employments, not being suffered to make their defence. I was informed also by one of the lieutenancy of the city, that should the Duke of Monmouth give a blow to the King's forces, he much feared there would be a rising in London by the factious party.

July 1. I received an account from my brother Edmond that commanded a company of the guards, with the army then at Bradford, that the several parties which had been sent down against the rebels were now joined, that the Duke of Monmouth had been near Bath with the army, and had sent to summon the town, my Lord Fitzhardinge being governor, but that being refused entrance, and the army belonging to the King to the number of 7,000 being drawn out of the town, he drew off his men and marched back towards Croom. The King's forces intended the next day to follow him. This letter was dated the 28th of June. He further said that Monmouth's army was betwixt 7,000 and 8,000 men, of which 500 were horse. I told the King of this at supper, who said his account was much to the same purpose, and that he had since received another from my Lord Feversham, who said the ordnance and the carriages with their tents were now got up to them, so that they hoped to lie near the rebels and to be in a condition to give a good account of them speedily.

A bill for naturalising all French Protestants and strangers held a long debate in the House of Commons, whether it should be committed or not. I spoke for the

committing it, provided they would conform to the liturgy of the Church of England, and that those who did not should lose the benefit of their naturalisation. The Court was not for the bill; however, it was at last committed.

I had a letter from my wife, whose fear that a man was less safe for having several commands made her not satisfied with the last the King had done me the honour to bestow upon me; a woman's kindness being sometimes so mistaken as to wish a husband's safety before his honour or preferment. The truth is few things are pursued in the world without hazard, and Providence suffers sometimes those men to fall into it the soonest that avoid it the most.

July 2. Both Houses attended the King in the House of Lords, where his Majesty passed five bills and then ordered the House to be adjourned till the 4th of August, which was done accordingly. The fears of all those that loved the Government improved as the hopes of the discontented, by the increase of the Duke of Monmouth's party, which was now swelled to an army of 12,000 foot and near 1,500 horse, moving from place to place in the West—in the hilly and enclosed country—where, though the King's army kept pretty close to them, yet could not fight them. That army of the King nearest to Monmouth, commanded by my Lord Feversham, did not consist of above 3,000 foot, and 500 horse, but these (or the most of them) were of the guards.

July 4. The King had notice that the duke was got into Bridgwater, intending to fortify himself there whilst he refreshed his army, and that my Lord Feversham was following him very close.

July 6. The duke being informed that my Lord Feversham lay encamped at three miles from Bridgwater, that his army was small, and that three English regiments and three Scotch regiments from Holland, as also some

horse from London, were upon their march to reinforce his lordship, stole out about one o'clock in the morning with his whole army, towards the camp, but with that silence that the King's forces knew nothing of their approach till they came to the sentry, whose fire gave them the first notice. The Duke of Monmouth marched at the head of the foot, my Lord Grey led up the horse and brought their cannon within pistol-shot. Our men got into order as soon as they could, and received them as well as they could, but were so outpowered in numbers that, till my Lord Grey ran away with the horse, being frightened by our cannon, we were in great danger to lose the day. The Duke of Monmouth stood, however, till a great part of his foot was cut in pieces and then made his escape, but so narrowly that his coat, papers, and secretary were taken. Farquison, that arch Presbyterian priest and rebel was killed, and my Lord Grey taken three days after, in disguise.

July 7. I received a letter from my brother, a captain in the Duke of Grafton's regiment of guards, who sent me particulars of that action by the express which came to the King, and wrote more fully as to some things than my Lord Feversham had written to his Majesty in that disorder. I showed the King my brother's letter, who said that the foot fought very well, as indeed they did, my brother saying that they were either killed or wounded on both sides of him, though he happily escaped. I showed his letter the same day to my Lord Treasurer, to the Prince, and to my Lord President.

The Duke of Monmouth from the beginning of this, his desperate attempt, had shown the conduct of a great captain, insomuch as the King said himself, he had not made one false step. And thus this great storm, which began from a little cloud (for the number of men which he brought ashore was not above 150) was fortunately dispersed; for had he got the day, it was to be feared the disaffected were so numerous that they would have risen

in several parts of England, to the very hazard of the Crown. The number of the slain on the enemies' side was computed about 1,200; on our side near 300 killed and wounded. We took about 600 prisoners.

July 9. To complete the King's good fortune came the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being taken in a wood disguised, by a company of country fellows hunting after him, with one Count Horn, who was first lighted upon in a bush and who said the duke was not far off. The same day the Duchess of Monmouth and her two sons were sent to the Tower. When the duke was taken he was almost spent, having not been in bed of three weeks. He had no arms, nor made any defence, only he carried a watch in his pocket and 300*l.* in gold, which was the only money he had left. His Majesty, as he had reason, was very well pleased with the news, though he was of a temper so equal as not to appear transported upon any occasion; for he could not have a greater than this, to see the rebellion thus pulled up by the roots, and himself the faster on the throne by this endeavour to cast him out.

When the duke came to town the King saw him at his request at Whitehall, where he expressed some detestation of what he had attempted to do, and laid the fault on my Lord Argyll and Mr. Farquison, for advising him to it, disclaimed any title to the Crown, and said he was put upon taking the title of King, believing it might make men of quality repair the more to him. This I heard the King say, but what he further confessed was not then known. He ended all with desiring pardon and his life of the King upon his knees; and so continued to do by letters to the two Queens, till he was executed by his head being cut from his body (at five blows) upon Tower Hill. When he came to die he submitted to it unconcerned, disowned all pretence to the Crown, and impiously disowned his duchess, that brought him, having

nothing, 10,000*l.* per annum; saying she was given him for wife in his minority, but the wife of his own choice was the Lady Henrietta Wentworth (the only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Cleveland, whom he debauched), with whom he owned he had lived according to the rules of his convenience, though not according to the laws of the land, for two years last past. He further said he was sorry for the effusion of blood of which he had been the cause, but would not name it a rebellion in his whole discourse. There were taken in his pocket, books of his own handwriting, wherein were charms or spells, to open the doors in case he should be in prison, not to be wounded in battle, &c., songs and prayers.

July 29. I set forward for Yorkshire. I got to Thrybergh in my own coach, the 1st of August, where, by God's mercy, I found my wife, children, and family very well.

August 5. I went for York where the assizes were then held.

August 8. That day came down the charter of York renewed, and the five aldermen changed as was before mentioned, which the friends of my opponents did much rejoice at, and did cast about a discourse as if their standing so firmly by me in my election was the reason of their being put out of commission. This was some trouble to me, but there was no remedy at that time. I returned to Thrybergh the same day.

September 5. I called at Bolsover in my return to Thrybergh to dine with the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Albemarle had not long before quitted all his employments at Court. He commanded the King's first troop of guards, was Lord-Lieutenant of two counties, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, with other employments. The reason was the Lord Feversham had power to command him by his commission in the late rebellion in the West; and at their return his lordship

and my Lord Churchill were made major-generals, when his grace thought that by his quality and his family's service to the Crown, he deserved it as well as they. This, with the Duke of Newcastle's believing himself neglected when last at London by the King, made him free of his discourse in relation to affairs at Court, and declare positively that he would not repair thither any more, and should be glad to be out of all manner of public employment.

September 22. I had an account of the breaking of a goldsmith in London who had 700*l.* of mine in his hands.

October 14. I went to the muster of my militia troop at Wakefield, where several gentlemen of the town and country came and dined with me at my quarters.

October 16. I returned home and met the news that I should recover 500*l.* of the 700*l.* which I feared to lose by the breaking of the goldsmith.

As I rode late between Barnsley and Wakefield I lost my sword out of my belt, and not discovering it till I came to my journey's end I was troubled at it, because it was reputed unlucky for a soldier to lose his sword. But it so happened that as I returned to Thrybergh two days after, my men found it close to the road side, though many persons travelling that way passed very near it, yet did not find it.

October 22. The Duchess Dowager of Norfolk and my Lord George Howard came to pay us a visit at Thrybergh. She had been a woman of ordinary extraction and of a worse course of life. My Lord Chesterfield told me that he kept her sister as his mistress for some years, at which time this woman being a child lived with her and made her fires. When she came to years she followed her sister's trade, and was common about the town; at the last she fell to the share of my Lord Henry Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), who had some children by

her whilst he owned her as his mistress, and many more when she was his wife.

There seemed to be a strange fatality to attend that family at this time in relation to their wives. The young Duke of Norfolk, eldest son of the said Lord Henry by a former wife—Lord Marshal of England—married the only daughter and child of the Earl of Peterborough, and had lived with her in very good understanding for six or seven years; when, being told she was in league with one St. Germain, a Dutch gentleman, he was not willing to believe it till pretending to go from Windsor to Winchester with the King this very summer, he returned the same evening and surprised them so near that St. Germain was forced to leap out of the window to save himself, and the Duchess was found in all the confusion that so black a guilt could occasion. However, the Duke had the temper not to hurt her, but sent her some days after into a monastery in France.

October 24. I had the ill news of the death of my good lord and friend the Earl of Ailesbury, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, but that which was much more afflicting was the account that my Lord Marquis of Halifax, Lord President of the Council, was in disfavour with the King, and dismissed the Privy Council, who had been ever a true and kind patron to me, a man of extraordinary parts which made me the more concerned, fearing that the public might suffer as well as his friends for want of so able a person in all business; but it being the King's pleasure it became all good persons to submit to it.

October 28. I went to meet my Lord Archbishop of York and Sir Henry Goodricke at Doncaster, in their journey up to the Parliament which was to sit the 9th of November next. They told me it was true the King's having laid aside the Marquis of Halifax from all business, but that he had assigned no cause for it. I found also

they were very jealous that the King might offer something in Parliament this session in favour of Popery.

November 9. I set forward for London with my family. I arrived there the 13th and found the House of Commons had adjourned the taking into consideration the King's speech, which he had made to them on the day of their meeting, till the 13th. The House of Lords had voted his Majesty thanks for it, but being moved to be done also in the House of Commons, it did not pass. The King in this speech told the Houses that he was glad to meet them in better times than when he parted with them last; that the rebellion was now perfectly quashed, that the Government was liable to such attempts by reason that the militia of the kingdom was useless, and that the standing force was so small that he had now raised it to a greater number, which would be a double charge upon him to maintain, and therefore he desired a proportionable aid to support it and pay his officers; that 'twas true there were some Popish officers in the army, but he hoped that would cause no misunderstanding between him and his Parliament. Although they were not qualified by law, yet they were such as had shown their principles by their loyalty; and that he had had experience of it, and would not expose them to shame by parting—or to this effect—and would venture his life for the true interest of this nation.

November 13. The Commons voted a supply to be granted to the King for his extraordinary occasions; but would neither consent to name the *quantum* nor the use to which it was to be given, viz., to the support of the army. It was a long debate and ended in a question, on which the House divided, the noes being 250, the ayes were but 125 for that use. It came afterwards the same day to another division, upon the question whether that House should first proceed upon the supply to the King or upon the second paragraph of his Majesty's speech

concerning the Popish officers in the army; and it was carried for postponing the supply by one voice only. In this division it was told the King that several of his servants and officers of the army, who were of the House, divided against him.

November 14. I waited upon the King to kiss his hand, who asked me when I came to town. I told him the night before. He said he was sorry for that, for if I had been there sooner, he had not lost the vote the day before for one vote, which he said was hard, and the more so because he lost it by his own officers; which I thought was offered by way of admonition to me. That day the second part of the King's speech was debated, and the result was that an address should be made to the King, to represent to him, that the receiving of Popish recusants into the army was contrary to law, and to desire that they might be removed from the same. A committee was appointed to draw up this address, and to frame a bill at the same time for the indemnifying of the said officers for the time they had served, they having entered into that service in so imminent a time of danger. My Lord Halifax told me the particulars of his being dismissed from the Presidentship of the Council. He said he might have continued with greater advantages than ever, if he would have joined in some things which he saw were contriving to be carried on, which he could not agree to; that the King parted with him with kind expressions, did assign no cause for his dismission, nor would put any person in his place. This lord was so generally looked upon as a wise man and a good subject, that the removal of him, especially at the beginning of Parliament, astonished a great many, and made them fear there was a change of councils as well as councillors.

November 16. The debate of the aid to be given to the King came on. 200,000*l.* was first moved to be given, then 400,000*l.* by the country gentlemen. The

courtiers insisted upon 1,200,000*l.* for paying the new raised forces for five years. The House would not hear of that use for the money, lest it might prove an establishment of a standing army, but would give it the King to be employed as he thought fit. At the last, 700,000*l.* was named and granted to the King. In this debate the usefulness of a standing army, till the rebellion, or rather the ferment of, it was perfectly quieted, was much insisted upon on one side—the danger of it and the inconveniences (especially considering the unruliness and insolence of soldiers, their ill example in the country, and the burthen of free quarters) on the other. But all this was compromised in the declared intention of the House to make the militia more useful, until which time it was agreed as a thing necessary that the army ought to be kept up.

The address for the King's dismissing of Popish officers for the army being prepared, was this day read and agreed to. A long debate happened upon this, whether the concurrence of the Lords should be desired or not in the matter. The Court party was against it, because the King might have a better excuse not to grant it when it came but from one of the two Houses; the country gentlemen thought necessary to enforce it the more. In this vote I divided for joining with the Lords, or rather in asking their concurrence with us in this address; but we lost it by some forty voices.

November 17. The Commons considered of funds for the raising of 700,000*l.* before given, and after proposing the new foundations in the city of London, foreign salt, iron, and French linen, and several other commodities, it was voted to be laid upon the same sort of trade, viz., silks and stuffs from France, East India commodities, &c., on which the former tax was laid in the last session, to be continued for five years longer; that is 400,000*l.* of the 700,000*l.* was to be laid there, and the 300,000*l.* was laid

upon French wines at 4*l.* per tun more than was imposed before, for so long as that sum was run up. The same day the Commons went in a body to present the address to the King, he having appointed that time to receive it. His answer was this, that he did not expect such an address from such a House of Commons, having so lately recommended to their consideration the great advantages a good understanding between us had produced in a very short time, and gave them warning of jealousies and fears amongst ourselves. 'I had,' said he, 'reason to hope the reputation that God had blessed me with in the world would have created and confirmed a greater confidence in you of me, and of all I say to you; but however you proceed on your part, I will be steady in all the promises I have made, and be very just to my word in every one of my speeches.' The King spoke this with great warmth.

November 18. Was appointed to consider of a bill to make the militia more useful for the future, but the debate was adjourned till the 21st day. The same day it was moved by Mr. Wharton, eldest son to the Lord Wharton, that a day might be named to take the King's answer to our address into consideration. It was seconded by Mr. Cooke, of Derbyshire, a gentleman of three thousand pounds per annum, and who used these words, 'that we were all Englishmen, and he hoped we should not be frightened from our duties by a few high words.' This was looked upon as so indecent an expression to the King, though the House generally liked the motion, and put it into such a flame that they sent that member to the Tower, and left the business *sine die.* That day I dined with my Lord Treasurer, who was civil to me.

November 19. The Lords began to consider of his Majesty's speech, where it related to Popish commanders, and the debate was very warm, but was at last adjourned till the 23rd. The King was present as he was usually

constant in the House of Lords, and was much concerned at the plainness which they said was used in this debate. The truth is it gave great dissatisfaction to see the laws invaded in that particular; and the King's best friends, with his domestic as well as military officers, except some few that were popishly affected, were much alarmed at it, and were very free in their discourses concerning it.

November 20. The King coming in his robes, acquainted both Houses by my Lord Chancellor, that for some weighty reasons, his Majesty thought fit to prorogue this Parliament until the 10th of February next, and that accordingly it was prorogued. Many were the conjectures concerning this prorogation. Some said the King had so good a revenue and was so good a manager that he would be able to subsist, and maintain both his fleet and his army without more money, and therefore would scarce have occasion for more Parliaments; and the rather because he had refused 700,000*l.* by this dismission, which the Commons were preparing to give him. Others were of opinion that the Houses would meet again at the time, and that the King would find out some expedient before then to give them satisfaction in the only point of difference between them, which was that of the Popish officers. In the meantime some of those gentlemen that had most remarkably voted for the address to the King for laying them aside from their employments were forbidden the King's presence, as Mr. Fox, paymaster of the army, Lieutenant-Colonel Darcy, Major Webb, &c.

The Popish party at this time behaved themselves with an insolence which did them a prejudice. The King of France continued to practise all the cruelties imaginable towards the Protestants in France to make them turn Papists, commanding that all extremities should be used but death, as seizing their lands, razing their temples and houses, taking all their goods, putting them into prisons, quartering dragoons with them to eat up their estates and

to watch them that they should not sleep till they changed their religion. Many of them fled into all parts as they could escape, poor and naked; for their estates were stopped and themselves condemned to the galleys if they were taken attempting to fly.

December 2. His Majesty this day declared that he had reprieved the Lord Brandon, who had his day set to be executed three days afterwards. This was a great act of clemency in his Majesty, he having been pardoned before by the late King for breaking a boy's neck when he was drunk, which he had been condemned for as guilty of murder.

The favourites of the Court began to differ amongst themselves. Lord Sunderland was made President of the Council, and continued Secretary of State. The Queen was artificially possessed by this lord, who was fallen out with the Lord Treasurer, that the relations and friends of the King's first wife were in greatest favour, and had the best places as Rochester, Clarendon, Dartmouth, and others, whilst the friends of her who was queen regent, had none so considerable, and of which number were reckoned Lord Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Churchill; upon which they began to work secretly one against the other.

I had seen so many changes and so many great and little men removed in my time, that I confess it began to cool my ambition, and make me think there was a time when every thinking man would choose to retire and to be content with his own, rather than venture that and his conscience for the getting of more; and a little left to his family in that way was better than more gotten by other means. Not that I found the King less kind, or despaired of making or preserving my interest, though my great friend was removed; for could I have persuaded myself to have come up to the point that some did, I had a fairer opportunity of raising myself now than ever; but

I was convinced that safety was better than greatness, and a good foundation in all conditions the greatest happiness.

December 16. Mr. Fox, paymaster of the army, whose employment was valued at 10,000*l.* per annum, Colonel John Darcy, grandchild and heir to the Earl of Holderness, having not pleased the King in their votes as members of the Lower House having been suspended the King's presence since the prorogation, were now wholly laid aside from their employments; and 'twas said that it was agreed in council that all persons who should hereafter offend so should be likewise suspended, which startled many. It was observed that my Lord Treasurer was more humble and obliging than formerly, which made most believe that the game went ill on his side, and so it was confessed by Sir Henry Goodricke, brother-in-law to my Lord Dartmouth, another of that party. These pretended to stand upon a Protestant interest; the Queen and hers upon the Popish.

Several other gentlemen members of Parliament who had employments were laid aside for not voting as was expected by the King, as my Lord Willoughby, eldest son to my Lord High Chamberlain, with two Mr. Berties, his relations, who had, all troops of horse, Mr. Fitzwilliam, another captain of horse, brother of my Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Cooke, before committed to the Tower by the House of Commons, captain of a company of foot, Mr. Kendall, brigadier in the Horse Guards, and others. This made it the more wondered at, because these were some of them eminent men as to their families and services to the Crown.

December 22. The Archbishop of York came to see me, but not finding me, told my wife that he heard that my lord Marquis of Halifax, was coming again into business, but upon discourse with the Marquis the day following I found it was a mistake.

December 23. The Duke of Albemarle now told me some things in relation to the present affairs, which surprised me extremely. Some gentlemen had been lately attempted upon in the street: one had a powder thrown in his eyes, that made him lose his sight; another had his throat cut by two men;—neither of these giving the least provocation; and the Duke of Albemarle was met by a gentleman and threatened as he passed in a chair.

December 26. It was whispered that the King would prorogue the Parliament till May, and 'twas certainly better so to do, than to let it meet at the time except his Majesty had resolved to comply in some expedient for satisfying both Houses in the matter of Popish officers; which was so far from being done that some others were lately received into military employment. The Bishop of London, brother to the late Earl of Northampton, and of the Privy Council, a sober and learned prelate, was put out of the said Council for a speech he made in the Lords' House the last session concerning the Popish officers; though I was told by the Archbishop of York that he spoke it with all the respect imaginable to the King. Others said the reason was his being industrious to preserve the Princess Anne of Denmark in the Protestant religion, whom there were some endeavours to gain to the Church of Rome.

December 30. I dined with my Lord Chancellor and complimented him upon some civilities I told him I hoped I had received from him, and particularly for the King's kindness to me, which I attributed to his character of me in some measure (though I was not very much persuaded he was my friend to that degree, but the way to make friends at Court is to pretend you think them so already). He took it very kindly, said he had rather do me a courtesy than tell me he had done it, that he always esteemed me since he knew me, had always heard well of me, especially as to the King's service, and had not

done me right if he had otherwise represented me. I replied I always had been firm to the Crown, and should so continue, and he might assure the King of it. He promised me he would, and desired me to come and see him sometimes.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reresby's Children—Trial of Lord Delamere—Anecdote of Jeffreys—Lady Strafford's Funeral at York—The new Countess of Dorchester—Yorkshiremen at Merchant Taylors'—Jeffreys' drunken Freak—Parliament again prorogued—York Matters—Catholics in the Ascendant—Measures adopted by the King—Death of Archbishop Dolben—At Hounslow—Great Changes on the Bench—Chief Justice Jones—Eton School—Lord Feversham and Lady Margaret Cavendish—Papists in the Privy Council—Account of the York Garrison—Family Quarrels at Welbeck—York Hospitalities.

1686.

January 9. Not being very desirous that my daughter Frances, who was now near twenty years of age, should appear often at Court, she had not been at that of the Queen Dowager's till about this time since she came to town, when being presented with her mother to kiss the Queen's hand, the Queen told her—calling her by her name—that she was grown very tall, and very pretty since she saw her; and without partiality she was then as handsome as most women of that time, had a great deal of wit, and virtue and goodness with it. I began now to hope my eldest son William would prove a scholar, having hitherto no other reason of dispute with him, he and the rest of my children being, by God's great mercy, very hopeful and dutiful.

January 14. Was my Lord Delamere tried by a particular commission, directed to the Lord High Steward and thirty other peers in Westminster Hall, for high treason, viz., for conspiring to raise rebellion, and to sub-

vert the government, with the Duke of Monmouth and other false traitors, &c. I was near the King during the whole trial, and the only chief evidence against him was one Saxton, an obscure fellow, who swore that about the time of the Duke of Monmouth's landing, he being recommended by the Lord Brandon to the said Lord Delamere, discoursed with him at his house in Cheshire, upon the 4th of June, Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Offley being present, concerning a rising there to aid the said duke; and that his lordship said he was engaged to raise 10,000 men for that service, but could not do it so soon as was promised, the money being not yet ready, &c. The evidence of all the other witnesses was but circumstantial and by hearsay; there were six or eight. Some said that the Duke of Monmouth had told them that he depended on the assistance of my Lord Macclesfield, my Lord Brandon, and my Lord Delamere, and that they would rise in Cheshire as soon as he landed. Others swore that the said duke had written and sent messages to his friends at London, to give notice to the said lords to be ready, for that he was preparing to come for England. In this trial a new piece of law was insisted upon by the Lord High Steward and the Solicitor-General, not practised before, viz., that if there were but one positive evidence to any one fact of high treason which was clear, with which other evidence, though it were but circumstantial, concurred, that was sufficient to find the prisoner guilty. As, for example, if there were one positive witness that a man heard another say that he did intend to kill the King upon such a day, and another swore that he saw the said party lie in wait to pursue that intent; this is sufficient evidence. But however the law is in the case, it was not applicable in this lord's particular; for he clearly disproved the main witness, producing very clear testimony that neither Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Offley, nor himself were there the said 4th of June; but two of them in London and the other

sixteen miles off. Besides, the prisoner urged that had this Saxton spoke true he was not a legal witness, being then himself a prisoner and taken in actual rebellion in the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, and might swear to save his own life. Upon the whole matter my lord was acquitted, every one of the peers declaring him not guilty. Some persons condemned the lawyers for advising the King to bring a peer to trial upon so slender evidence. Others said the King having put him in prison, it was fit he should have his public trial, lest it should be thought he had been detained without any matter against him. When the trial was ended I saw the King was very angry with Saxton, and he declared the next day that he should be first indicted for perjury and then hanged for high treason.

January 18. I dined with my Lord Chancellor, where my Lord Mayor of London was invited and some other gentlemen. After dinner the Chancellor, having drunk smartly at table (which was his custom) called for one Montfort, a gentleman of his that had been a comedian, an excellent mimic, and to divert the company, as he called it, made him give us a cause, that is, plead before him in a feigned action, where he acted all the principal lawyers of the age, in their tone of voice, and action or gesture of body; and thus ridiculed not only the lawyers, but the law itself. This, I confess, was very diverting, but not so prudent as I thought for so eminent a man in so great a station of the law; since nothing could get a man more enemies than to deride those whom they ought most to support.

January 21. I received notice from my lieutenant at York that the day the Countess of Strafford's body came there to be buried (being attended by several gentlemen of the country, and a guard out of my company), the rabble, to tear off the escutcheons from the hearse, had made an assault upon them, when the soldiers endeavouring to beat

them off were driven and pursued into the Minster, where the quire being hung with black cloth and escutcheons, was plundered of them, several of the soldiers hurt as well as those of the rabble, so that a greater riot had not been known in that place. That he (meaning my lieutenant) had complained to my Lord Mayor of some of the leaders of this fray, and that he refused to punish them as he ought. At the same time I had a letter from my Lord Mayor, who complained of the lieutenant and the soldiers, and denied but that he was ready and active to inflict such punishments upon the offenders as the law allowed in that case.

January 22. I acquainted his Majesty with the whole matter, who gave present order to my Lord Sunderland to inform himself from me particularly of it.

January 23. Being sent for by my Lord Sunderland, I gave him an account in writing of the riot at York, who bade me attend the King in Council the next day, for then it would be taken into consideration.

It was now certain that Mrs. Sedley, who had been formerly the King's mistress, and brought him children when Duke of York, but deserted for a while after he came to the Crown, was so much again in his favour that he created her Countess of Dorchester, and did visit her frequently. This gave great discontent to the Queen; but there was no remedy for the present. The Queen's party and priests did so importune the King, set before him the sin, and the discouragement which his amour with the new Countess of Dorchester gave to the gaining of converts to their church, that it was said he would abandon his mistress, and had sent her word either to go into France or he would withdraw the pension he gave her of four thousand pounds a year.

January 25. I received the unwelcome news from Spain that my brother Jervase Reresby was married there to a Spaniard of no great extraction nor estate; and

which was the worst, that he was likely to fix himself there. I had a letter from him soon after to the same effect.

February 9. Was the annual feast of Yorkshiremen at Merchant Taylors' Hall, where the archbishop dined and most of the principal gentlemen of that county then in town, and where my Lord Latimer, Sir John Kaye, and myself were chosen three of the stewards for the ensuing year.

My Lord Chancellor had like to have died at this time of a fit of the stone, which he brought upon himself by a great debauch of wine at Alderman Duncomb's, where he and my Lord Treasurer, with others, drank to that height as 'twas whispered that they stripped into their shirts, and had not an accident prevented, would have got upon a sign-post to drink the King's health, which gave occasion of derision, not to say more of the matter.

February 10. Being the day to which the Parliament was prorogued, the members of the House of Commons, as well as the Lords, did meet in their respective places. The Commons that appeared were to the number of about one hundred and fifty. Being summoned by the Black Rod to attend in the House of Lords, a commission directed to my Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, &c., was read, commanding them or any of them to prorogue the Parliament till the 10th of May next, which my Lord Chancellor did accordingly.

February 15. Having had notice from Lieutenant Butler that two aldermen from York had drawn up some information against him as to his carriage in that garrison when he commanded in my absence, and would present it to the King, and desiring me to assist him therein, I went to his Majesty, acquainted him with that matter, telling him I could not excuse my lieutenant in all particulars of his carriage; that he had been arbitrary in some things, but if his Majesty should put any disgrace upon

him at their complaint it would seem to give a victory to the town and prejudice his service. He said I was in the right, and he would be careful in the doing of it. The best argument to be used with the King in these cases was from point of honour.

February 17. I went to tell my Lord Sunderland (Lord President and Secretary of State) that the aldermen were come up with the intention and to the same effect as I had before told the King; who answered me very surlily, and said the King was the best judge when and in what manner to punish his officers; that my lieutenant was not to escape any more than others in case he deserved it, which did something surprise me, his manner of speaking it being angry and haughty.

February 21. Dining with the Marquis of Halifax, we had much discourse concerning affairs as they then stood. He advised me to accept of an embassy (if it could be exchanged) for the government of York, and told me which way it might be obtained; but we did not agree in the proposal.

February 23. The King went into Hyde Park to see his two regiments of Guards mustered. He had seen some part of them some days before, and found fault with their being not full; he excepted my brother's company, and told him, both in the field and the next day at Whitehall, that it was the best company there, and bade the Duke of Grafton take notice of it that the rest should be as good; and for that reason he saw them again to know the reason of their being so defective, for he was exact in these things.

About this time the Duke of Gordon, a papist, was made governor of Edinburgh Castle, and the Duke of Queensberry (who was adversary to my Lord Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and had lately professed himself a papist) was laid aside from his office of Lord Treasurer.

This declared favour to persons of that religion gave great disgust in that kingdom.

March 1. The two aldermen (of York) were brought to the King by my Lord Preston. They endeavoured to excuse themselves and the rest of the magistrates as to the blame laid upon them for the late riot. The King replied that their town lay under an ill repute; that they had not behaved themselves well to suffer such a disorder; that as he would not have his soldiers misbehave themselves, so he would not have them abused; that he expected more respect should be paid to his officers and garrison, and that they that were magistrates should perform their parts. His Majesty gave order, however, that the rioters should be prosecuted at the assizes.

The brief for a collection in all parishes of England for some thousands of French Protestants that had refuged themselves here from the barbarous prosecution against them at home, after a long stop did pass the Great Seal at last.

Though it could not be said that there was as yet any remarkable invasion upon the rights of the Church of England, yet the King gave all the encouragement he could to the increase of his own, by putting more papists into office, but especially in Ireland; by causing or allowing popish books to be printed and sold and cried publicly; by publishing some popish papers found in the late King's closet, and the declaration of his dying a papist and the manner of it; with that of the conversion of the late Duchess of York, and her reasons for it, written by herself; by a letter or order to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to direct the ministers of his diocese to preach a good life, but not to meddle with controversies in their sermons; by sending my Lord Castlemaine upon a solemn embassy to the Pope, and many other such things; which made all men expect that more would follow of a greater concern.

March 28. I was robbed at York by some soldiers of my Lord Ferrers' regiment, in their march to Berwick, of some wine; some stragglers getting into the Manor yard and breaking open my cellar; but my servants took them and committed them to the guard.

March 29. I was robbed at London, whether by servants or others was not discovered, of about 30*l.* worth of plate. Such accidents, I thank God, had scarce ever before befallen me in my whole life.

The King adjourned his Parliament in Scotland, which should have met the beginning of April, till the latter end of that month, suspecting that things would not go so clever as was first believed, the discontents seeming to increase, that the Chancellor and other great men that were turned papists continued in office, and had so great countenance at Court. The head of the other faction was the Duke of Queensberry, a great man of interest in that kingdom, and the Chancellor's great enemy.

April 14. I was fifty-two years of age, and thanked God for his great mercies to me during my whole life.

April 16. I received news of the death of Dr. Dolben, Archbishop of York, a man of excellent parts and piety, and much to be lamented for the loss the Church had by him as well as his friends. I acquainted the King the same day with that news.

I waited upon his Majesty to Hounslow Heath, who went to choose the ground where his army was to encamp that summer. He was afterwards entertained at dinner by Mr. Shales, the provider, in a little house built near there for the conveniency of his business, where his Majesty was more pleasant and entertaining to all the company than he used to be. I rode a horse of my own breed that I was offered fifty guineas for that day. I asked seventy guineas for him.

I discovered the party that had stolen my plate, by a

gilt cup that was pawned for 10*s.*, and clapped him in the gaol.

April 22. Being the first of the term, there was a great change in Westminster Hall of the judges; there was a new Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and another new judge there; a new Lord Chief Baron; in fine, four new judges of all courts. This made the greater noise, because several of those turned out were knowing and loyal gentlemen, and their crime was only this—that they would not give their opinions, as most of the rest had done, that the King by his prerogative might dispense with the taking of the test to Roman Catholics.

April 23. I was informed by Mr. Jones, son to the late Chief Justice, lately turned out, that his father told the King, at his dismission, that he was not sorry for himself to be laid aside, being old and worn out in his service, but that his Majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious people would give their judgments as he expected; that his Majesty replied it was necessary his judges should be of one mind. He told me further that Sir Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, had been directed by the King to draw a warrant, by virtue of his prerogative, for a priest of the Church of Rome being put into a benefice, and for one Walker, master of a college in Oxford, and some more fellows of the same college, turned papists, to be confirmed master and fellows, by *non obstante*. The Attorney said that would be against not only one statute, but all the laws since the time of Queen Elizabeth; that he durst not do it, and desired the King would consider of it, since this struck at the root of the Protestant Church, which was contrary to his Majesty's late gracious promise. The Attorney said further that as soon as one could be found that would do it, he expected to lose his place. Such power had the council of priests over his Majesty.

May 2. I went to New Hall, in Essex, the Duke of Albemarle's house, the King having promised that duke to go and stay two days there to hunt, which he, coming the day after, performed accordingly. These two days his Majesty killed two stags; he was indefatigable at that sport, loving to ride so hard that he usually lost his company. The entertainment which the Duke gave the King was very noble; the Prince was there and a great part of the Court.

May 5. Mr. Finch, Solicitor-General, was turned out, and one Mr. Powis put in his stead, who did what the other refused, viz., to draw a warrant for the confirming of Walker, master of University college in Oxford, and three fellows, and the parson of Putney, in their respective benefices and places, which after passed the Great Seal, notwithstanding their being papists. At the same time, most of the officers that were Protestants in the army in Ireland were turned out, and papists put in their rooms.[1]

May 10. The Parliament met, and was prorogued

[1] Part of a letter to Lord Halifax, among the Spencer MSS., in Sir John's hand, but signed 'R. J.' dated April 27, runs thus:—'I had it from those to whom the Attorney-General told it, that he expected to be turned out five days before it happened, he having denied his Majesty's commands to make a warrant with an *obstante* to admit a parson new turned papist, and so declared, into a benefice; and for confirming Doctor Walker and his fraternity in the mastership and fellowships of that college in Oxford. It is said there is, or speedily will be, some publication that whosoever being now beneficed shall become Roman Catholics shall not for that reason forfeit their preferments or livings.'

On May 11, 1686, the same correspondent writes:—'Mr. Powis, the new attorney-general, has complied with what the (late) attorney-general refused, and has passed the seals. My lord president has relapsed, but is now better; and my lord Spencer not well by the ill-usage he and the rest of his company received from the constables and watch three nights ago, being upon a high ramble. Some, they say, complaining of it to my Lord Preston, he said it was pity it was not worse. Mr. Bucley was wounded in the head with a halberd, and has lost a piece of his lip in the service. . . . I met yesterday my Lord Thanet, who is jealous of a designed marriage of the Lord Feversham with my Lady Margaret Cavendish.'

by commission till the 22nd of November following. The King said that morning in his bedchamber that many of the politicians of the House of Commons were come up, fearing he should surprise them by letting the House sit to do business; but he would not do with them as they used to do with the Crown. I presented the King with six medals, or old Roman coins, found at Aldborough, in Yorkshire, which he accepted very kindly.

May 13. Taking my leave of my lord of Dover (late Henry Jermyn, Esq., a papist and great favourite), he told me that the Parliament would certainly meet at the time limited, and if they did not comply with the King they might expect the issue. He told me further that the King confided in my loyalty, and that if he could serve me in anything I should write to him. The King having lately got a Jesuit for his confessor, went on faster than formerly in promoting the Roman Catholic religion.

June 10. I removed my two sons from Kensington to Eton School, where there were at least 300 scholars, and some of them men; as well to improve their conversation by degrees (their schoolfellows at Kensington being little boys).

June 14. I returned with my family from Epsom waters, with better health than I carried with me.

June 21. I set out for Thrybergh with my family.

This term an action was brought against Sir Edward Hales, a professed papist, to whom the King had given a regiment of foot, upon the statute, for five hundred pounds, for having that employment, not having taken the oaths and the test as that law requires. It was agreed by all the judges, Baron Street only excepted, that the King had power by his prerogative to dispense with all penal statutes; that he was the only judge of the necessity of dispensing with the penal statutes. So Sir Edward, pleading the King's pardon, had the better of the cause.

This judgment was very surprising, and occasioned much discourse in the kingdom.

June 26. I went to the Duke of Newcastle, where (as I had promised my Lord Feversham) I took what pains I could to serve him with that duke, and get his good opinion, so as to think him a fit person to marry my Lady Margaret his daughter, and I found the only objection that remained was that his estate in land, though in places and land together he had 8,000*l.* per annum, was not so much as was desired. I gave his lordship a particular account of his grace's sentiments, and put him into the best way I could to surmount that difficulty.

July 5. I went for York. When I came there I found the discourse was no less there than it was elsewhere, that my Lord Plymouth was put out from being governor of Hull and myself of York, and that two popish lords were placed in those commands; but I did not believe it at that time for the favours, &c., I so lately received from the King. At my coming to town the citizens were generally glad of my return, those that were not my best friends not being desirous a papist should be made governor there in my stead; and this they expressed by causing the bells to be rung, as well as by their expressions and visits. I found the garrison in good order, and the officer that commanded the company there a very discreet man. I stayed there five days, and then returned to my house at Thrybergh.

July 18. I received the news that the King had sworn four papist lords of his Privy Council, three of whom had been in the Tower for the popish plot, and had appointed a commission for my Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and some others, of whom three were bishops, to inspect and inquire of ecclesiastical affairs and persons.

August 4. I went to Welbeck with my wife, where the duke and duchess received us with great civility and

entertained us three days. I found by him that he was sensible of the King's going on very fast in the promoting his own religion, but did resolve to be very loyal, and yet firm to his religion. He opened his heart to me in many particulars.

September 2. The garrison (at York) I formed at that time into this method. The ten companies consisted of 500 men (besides officers), and the daily guards of eighty men, by detachments of eight out of every company, of four sergeants, six corporals, and one commissioned officer. These met at the place of parade in the Minster yard between nine and ten every morning; at ten o'clock they marched off to relieve the several guards, which guards were in all six, viz., the main guard consisting of thirty-two private sentinels, one drummer, one commissioned officer, one sergeant, one corporal; the other guards were kept at the several gates, which were five: at Bootham Bar there were eight soldiers, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer; that being next to the Manor the sentries at my door were relieved from thence. At Micklegate Bar there were twelve soldiers, one sergeant, &c. The rest were accordingly distributed to Walmsgate, Castlegate, and Monk Bar. The tattoo was beaten every night by five drums at ten o'clock, at which hour every soldier was to go to his quarters, or be punished if found after that hour in the streets by the patroller that went the round of the streets to see that good order was kept. No soldier was suffered (nor, indeed, citizen) to go out of the gates in the day time with firearms, dogs, or engines for the destruction of game, except gentlemen or officers, or such as had leave in writing from myself. I did not suffer any quarters to be given without my allowance, and where I found the magistrates did oppress, I relieved as I thought fit, and was impartial in that and all other matters; which surprised a great many, who expected that having it now in my power to oppress my opponents,

and to ease my friends, I would have done it; and got me the good opinion of those that had been against me, insomuch as several of them sent to me to desire I would not leave the city, but stay there for their protection; and a gentleman, one Mr. Fairfax, that had been my greatest enemy at my election, and upon other accounts, desired me to forgive him and to receive him into friendship upon his knees (a submission which I no way desired).

October 15. Came forth the proclamation for proroguing the Parliament from the 22nd of November next to the 14th of February.

November 4. I went to see the Duke of Newcastle at Welbeck, but was extremely surprised to find a great disorder in the family by reason of so great a falling out between the duke and duchess that they were parted from bed and board. The occasion of it was my lady's desire to have her daughter Margaret married to my Lord Shrewsbury with a greater portion than his grace was willing to give her, and her unwillingness to marry her youngest daughter to Fitzroy, the King's natural son, which the duke desired, saying she should never marry a papist and a bastard. The young ladies took the part of the mother, and joined with her against their father, which infinitely troubled my lord duke. He desired me to go and speak to the duchess and his daughters to make them friends, which I endeavoured all I could, but to no purpose. I found them very foolishly obstinate, for the duchess had had so great a share of government in that family that she expected everything should go as she pleased. In this humour he burnt his will and made another settlement, not at all to the advantage of those daughters.

November 30. I received a letter from the Duke of Newcastle, who wrote word that himself and his duchess were at the same distance as when I left Welbeck, and another from my Lord Feversham that he now thought

himself in his single condition more happy than married into that family as things stood, or to that purpose; so fatal to families are those differences occasioned by the folly of husband or wife, or both; and if the latter, though the man hath spirit (if he have sense with it), he will suffer in some degree the insolence of a woman rather than make it public to the prejudice of his children, especially daughters, who are seldom desired out of such families.

December 1. I had an account from my Lord President's secretary, that his lordship had moved the King (as I had desired) for a living for my brother, lately fallen void in his Majesty's gift; that the King was very favourably inclined to do it, but was engaged six months before to another.

December 2. I gave a ball and supper to the ladies of the town and the officers of the garrison.

December 9. Mr. Pricket, Deputy-Recorder of the city of York, invited me, my wife and family, with such officers and others as I should bring with me, to dinner at his house, where he gave us an extraordinary entertainment.

December 10. Sir Stephen Thompson, merchant and alderman of York, gave me and my family a supper and ball. All the ladies of the town appeared there, and but few gentlemen besides such as I invited to come.

December 11. Mr. Chancellor of the Province of York, Dr. Watkinson, came and invited me and my family to dinner, desiring that I would appoint the time; but I was not very well, and feared the gout, so that I gave no answer to it at that time. I was desired by others to entertainments at their houses, but was hindered for the same reason.

CHAPTER XIV.

More Preferments of Catholics—York Assizes—A Case of Witchcraft—James's Efforts to suppress public Feeling—Reresby sounded by the Judge—Captain Fairfax and others lose their Commissions—Further Prorogations—Liberty of Conscience—Feeling of Dissenters—Buckingham's Death—Old Custom at Rotherham—York Manor to be a Catholic Seminary—The Pope's Nuncio at Windsor—Lords Feversham and Preston at Thrybergh and Welbeck—A Curious Courtship—Judge Alabon at York—Conduct of Protestant Justices—Hunting at Clipston—The King's Progress—The eccentric Marquis of Winchester at Rufford—James's Displeasure against the Church—Doctor Hough, of Magdalen—Progress of Lord Feversham's Love Affair—The Duchess and her Daughter—The Doncaster Corporation—York Manor—The King's Questions to the Justices, and their Effect—Displacement of Lord-Lieutenants.

1687.

January 6. I had an account that several gentlemen in this Riding were put out of commission of the peace, to the number of nineteen, and ten papists put in their room; that my Lord Rochester, Lord High Treasurer, was laid aside from that office, and that it was put into the hands of five commissioners, of whom two were papists.

January 18. The sessions of the peace were held at Doncaster, where Sir John Boynton, sergeant-at-law, gave the charge. There was no alteration then in the commission, nor did anything happen but according to the usual method and business of sessions. The mayor of Doncaster presented me with some wine and oysters, and my Lord Darcy sent me a doe.

January 30. I went for York from Thrybergh, leaving my wife there.

My Lord Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled, and Mr. Talbot, a strict Irish Papist—made a little before Earl of Tyrconnel—sent over to succeed him, which made a great many people leave or sell their estates, and come over for England. Mr. Savile, vice-chamberlain to the King, brother to the Marquis of Halifax, who had been of the bed-chamber to the King, whilst Duke of York, and since that ambassador in France, was put out of his employment.

March 7. I removed with my family to York, the assizes having begun there upon the 5th, attended but by one judge, Serjeant Powell. Four fellows received sentence of death, and a poor old woman also had the hard fate to be condemned for a witch. Some, that were more apt to believe those things than I, thought the evidence strong against her. The boy who said he was bewitched, falling into fits before the bench when he saw her, and then on a sudden coming to himself, and relating very distinctly the several injuries she had done him. But in all this it was observed the boy had no distortion, no foaming at the mouth, nor did his fits leave him gradually, but all of a sudden; so that the judge thought fit to reprieve her.

However, it is just to relate this odd story. One of my soldiers being upon guard at eleven o'clock at night, at Clifford Tower Gate, the night the witch was arraigned, hearing a great noise at the castle, and coming to the porch there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, then of a turkey-cock, which moved to and fro by him. Whereupon he went to the gaol and called the under-gaoler, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down and creep under the door, where there was scarce the room of the thickness of half-a

crown. This I had from the mouth both of the soldier and gaoler.

Every day produced so great a change in officers, both civil and military, who would not comply with what the King desired of them that there was no assurance of anything. The only trial of men, especially members of both Houses of Parliament, who had places and came near the King, was this—he took them aside, told them that the Test Act was made in the height of faction, not only to prejudice the Roman Catholics, and chiefly himself, and to prevent his coming to the Crown; but that so long as that and the penal laws against them continued, nobody was safe of that persuasion; that it was against all municipal laws for subjects, being free born, to be denied to serve their prince, or for a prince not to make use of whom he pleased for his service. And therefore he hoped they were so loyal as not to refuse to give him votes for taking away of so unreasonable laws. Every man that resisted the King in this was discharged of his employment.

The time for the sitting of the Parliament now drawing near, and several Parliament men not going to London, the King ordered the judges, in their several circuits, to feel their pulse in this matter; and particularly I was surprised when the judge told me privately at York that he had orders to speak to me on that subject. I asked him if he had it from his Majesty. He replied he received it in general from the King, to sound all members of Parliament, and from my Lord Chancellor as to my own particular. I then desired some time to consider of it, and the next morning returned him this answer—that since a denial of what the King asked was interpreted as an act of disloyalty, and I had so lately waited upon the King personally and given him such assurances of my loyalty; I could not believe this message was directed to me, and the rather, because he did not name me; and I did not

conceive that I was obliged to declare myself to anybody else; but if his Majesty did think fit to say anything further to me, when I waited upon him—which I intended speedily—I should consult both my loyalty and conscience to give him what satisfaction I could. The judge told me he would return what I said; seemed not very forward to advise compliance, but was merely passive. This was the best reply I thought at that time, for had it been affirmative, it was not safe, as the bent of the nation stood, to declare one's mind to a third person; had it been negative it had disobliged the King perfectly; when, if the Parliament should not meet (as it was not likely by the general opposition this found), the matter might probably never come in question. However it is most safe to deliver one's own mind in such cases one's self to a prince, and avoid if possible either the treachery, prejudice, or ignorance of such as report.

We now heard that Captain Fairfax, eldest son to my Lord Fairfax, had his commission taken from him; Colonel Herbert the same, Vice-Admiral of England and Master of the Robes, who enjoyed in places at that time three thousand pounds per annum. My lord president had the wardrobe taken away, refusing, as the rest did, to comply. The King having used all the means, both of threats and persuasions, to bring the Parliament men to comply in taking away the Test Act and penal laws, and all to no purpose, thought it not safe to call the Parliament as it was appointed; and therefore declared in council upon the 18th of March that for weighty considerations the Parliament should be prorogued till the 22nd of November following. His Majesty declared at the same time that uniformity in religion had not been able to be effected by the endeavours of four of his predecessors succeeding one another, assisted by their Parliaments, but that it had rather proved prejudicial to the kingdom (as was lately experienced by the rebellion in

his father's time). He was now resolved to issue out a declaration for toleration or liberty of conscience to all dissenters, hoping it would contribute to the peace and quiet of this kingdom, and to the increase of people as well as of trade. Whatever reasons were alleged, the true reason appeared to most men to be a design thereby to weaken the Church of England; and its professors feared it would feel more blows than this in a short time, though many were of opinion that such a toleration was not of prejudice upon a political account.

April 7. There came down the declaration for liberty of conscience, gilded over with tenderness to his Majesty's subjects, in general invitation to strangers of different opinions, improvement of trade, and promising all this time to protect the bishops and ministers of the Church of England in their functions, rights, and properties and free exercise of their religion in the churches. But the design was well understood, viz. to divide the Protestant churches, that the Papists might find less opposition. The Presbyterians or Calvinists, who most of them had begun to conform, continued to come to our churches. The Anabaptists, Quakers, and Independents made addresses of thanks to the King for this indulgence. Several gentlemen in addition to those before named had lost their employments for refusing to give their votes for taking away the penal and test laws, being all members of Parliament. After which, the Parliament being prorogued, the question how men inclined as to that matter was not so frequently put; nor did any number of Protestants, considerable either as to estates or quality, go over to the Roman Church, as yet neither invited by great preferments that waited on them, nor frightened with the King's frowns, and the loss of their employments So far did honour help religion, that gentlemen were the more firm, lest the world might think that they changed their religious opinions for reward.

May 12. The great man once in estate, several times so in favour with the late King Charles (but never with his brother), the Duke of Buckingham, died about this time. He was certainly the most witty man of his time, wholly addicted to his pleasures, and unsteady.[1]

I had a letter from my brother Edmond, captain in the Guards, that informed me that the King told him I had sent up a very good company of Grenadiers; for there was not a man in it but he was taller than the

[1] An undated letter from Reresby to Halifax, among the Spencer MSS., from which the following are extracts, seems to have been written about this time:—

'Having this particular opportunity, I could not but make use of it to assure your lordship of the continuance of my most faithful service, though the quiet and reserve people are under in these parts afford little matter for a letter. At York the old magistrates repent not their fate, and the new ones (chiefly governed by Alderman Rains, who married a papist) behave themselves with great loyalty, but are not willing, though pressed to it by some, nor the dean and chapter, though advised to it by the Bishop of Chester and others from above, to make an address.

'Mass and preaching are public in some five several rooms taken for that purpose; but it is computed that the whole number of that persuasion will not reach sixty of the whole city, in which number there are but three known converts; yet some are so earnest to gain them that one Doctor Vavasour, who had the best practice in physic, hath now the worst by offering to put a priest upon a dying patient, the parson of the parish being sent for before and then present. The generality of these parts seem very firm and very quiet to the Church of England; and the only dissenters that seem pleased with their toleration are the Quakers and Independents, the number of either not very considerable; for, notwithstanding they have meeting-houses, the churches are observed not to be less full in York, Leeds, Sheffield, in all which places I have been very lately. Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, both went up with intentions not to be shaken, and there is none suspected to leave the Church of England (employed from these parts) but Sir Rog. Strickland. I have been attacked by side-winds, but my answer was that I could not give opinions till I was in the House or that the king commanded me to deliver it. . . . .

'I was told by one present when the Duke of Buckingham died, that he fell into great disorder at the news of dying, would not admit of a priest, my Lord Fairfax of Gilling, Troutback (who told me the story), and some other priests offering one to him. He received after the Church of England; but my author said my Lord Arran told him that he had it from the King that the Duke had communicated with him after the Roman before he left London.'

captain. He spoke this as a jest, because I was little, but my soldiers all very tall.

May 16. Being Whitsun Monday and Rotherham fair day, I went in the afternoon to the sign of the Swan, to receive my rent of one penny—a rent reserved upon the sale by my predecessors of that house some 400 years since, with the best room and stable to the use of the heir of the family upon Rotherham fair day.

My wife was godmother in one week to two children, one the son of my uncle Yarburgh, of Campsall, the other son to Sir Gervase Cutler, of Stainborough, and his one-and-twentieth child.

Addresses were daily presented to the King from all manner of dissenters for his late indulgence for liberty of conscience, and in some places from the Church of England party upon that clause where he declared that he would, however, defend that Church in its rights and possessions, &c.

June 24. After several rumours that the papists had been very pressing with the King for the manor of York to make it a seminary or school for the instructing of youth in that religion, I was informed it was granted accordingly for thirty years to come to one Mr. Lawson, a priest. I wrote upon it to my Lord Bellasis, principal commissioner of the Treasury, setting forth that I had it granted by my commission of governor of York from the late King, and confirmed by this; that it was of 60*l.* per annum advantage to me, that it had cost me near two hundred pounds in repairs since my abode there, and I had had no allowance for it from the King, and therefore desired that it might either be continued to me, or that his Majesty would grant me such a compensation for the want of it and the repairs as in his Majesty's justice and wisdom I might be thought to deserve.

July 7. Came the proclamation to hand whereby the King dissolved the Parliament, which startled many.

July 8. The Pope's nuncio being to make his public entry at Windsor with great solemnity, and the Duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, being in waiting, refused to attend in that ceremony; for which he was forbid coming to Court and lost all his places. Five of the six gentlemen of the privy chamber in waiting were put out of their employments for the same cause.

July 9. My Lord Feversham came to my house with my Lord Preston (the King's late ambassador in France) with a great retinue, and (the next day being Sunday) we went to dine at Welbeck on Monday. My Lord Feversham was of the family of the Duke de Bouillon, lately sovereign prince of Sedan and nephew to the Marischal de Turenne, the great general in France, a fine gentleman of his person, and a good soldier. It was he that commanded in chief at the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of Newcastle received us very kindly, and told my Lord Feversham how far I had engaged him as to his consent to marry his daughter to his lordship; but the obstacle still remained on his side, that his wife must request his consent in writing before he would give it (which seems a strange fancy, but they being but half reconciled, there were some reasons for it). There was another hindrance on our side. My Lord Feversham thought the 15,000*l.* too little except the duke would settle some part of his land in reversion upon him, his daughter and their heirs. The duke was not to be brought to this, saying if they had issue, he might expect that of course; or without it, if he did not live to have sons of his own; but he would reserve that in his own power. My Lord Feversham desired the duke that I might go and intercede for him to the duchess to give her consent in the form he desired, which he allowed of, and I went. I found her grace and my Lady Margaret well enough content with the man, and not averse to come up to what was desired,

if the duke would make any settlement of his estate after his death to descend to them. I asked her if she believed it was practicable to persuade the duke to it. She said she feared not, then said, it comes to this short question, whether such an opportunity ought to be lost as of this marriage for a thing that was impossible to be obtained at present; when it is very likely to happen hereafter. When I found they began to incline to the thing I told them I conceived it best not to declare themselves at the present; that the Earl of Feversham desired the settlement as well as they, and since the duke was averse to make it, he thought first to return to the King, to try if he could persuade him to give him something (for the late King had given him 20,000*l.* when he married his first wife, who was Sir George Sands's daughter), and to make that the foundation for the Duke of Newcastle to make some addition to it. In the meantime he desired his grace and my Lady Margaret to take him into their good opinions, and so I returned, and told the duke the duchess would not consent in that manner. He said it was because she expected to make him settle his estate in present, but she should be deceived; but turning to my Lord Feversham bid him not despair, but she would do it at last, for he knew their minds, that the women approved of him very well.[1] Thus we took our leaves, and returned to Thry-

[1] Several of Sir John's letters to Halifax, now in the possession of Earl Spencer, refer to these singular matrimonial negotiations. They are well worth quoting as a contribution to the social history of the period. Reresby writes from Thrybergh on June 26, 1687: 'No man is more desirous than myself to perform the service last recommended to me from your lordship and the lord concerned, and no man shall more truly use the little interest he hath for that end. But the man and woman I have to deal with in this matter are so uncertain that it is very discouraging to go about it. My wife was lately to visit the lady thirty miles off, and found her nothing discouraged by the late difference as to the disposal of her daughters. The thing in question came in discourse amongst others by accident, and the mother said she thought this proposal when made the most suitable as to the person, but as to the fortune, it was like marrying a daughter to a parson; and her daughters were not yet so desperate to be disposed of so.

bergh, where the lords stayed with me the next day. The duke sent his compliments in the morning to desire their lordships to make use of his castle at Nottingham in their return to London, where they went on Wednesday, and were greatly entertained at the duke's charge. The thing was left as my Lord Feversham desired, either to take it up again if he pleased (if no better terms were to be had) or to leave it off. He was very well satisfied with my proceeding, and with his entertainment at my house. He gave ten guineas to my servants at his going away. My Lord Preston (who was master of the robes to the King) six, and Colonel Oglethorpe gave five.

I went to the assizes at York. Of the two judges who came down this circuit one was a Papist, Alabon (the first that ever sat as judge of that persuasion). He was strict and rigid in his opinion, but indifferent equal in giving his judgment, and in the trials that came before him for he sat of the *nisi prius*. An address was endeavoured by the sheriff from the gentlemen of the county to be presented to the King to thank him for some words which he used in his late proclamation for liberty of conscience, whereby he still promised to maintain and protect the Church of England. This, indeed, had been done by several dissenters, but by very few of the Church of England, they conceiving the very indulgence a contradiction to that security. The appearance of gentlemen at the assizes being little, and those not inclined to comply with the High Sheriff, he attempted to get an address to the same effect from the grand juries, but they being composed of some Papists and some Protestants, who had different matters to thank the King for, could not

She had received the day before a message from Welbeck to know why she did not return home; but told her visitor she would not go till he wrote to her and assured her that way that there should be no further occasion given of dispute between them concerning the disposal of their children. Since that I hear she has returned; and, if upon those terms, there is little hope of success.'

agree in framing an address, and one that was offered to them by the high sheriff was stolen away and never seen after. This disappointment and aversion put the judge in some heats, which were also increased by but one Protestant justice of the peace attending the sheriff when he came to meet the judges, so that he told me (I mean Judge Alabon) that he would complain to the King, for that this looked more like a disrespect to him than to them. My late coming to the assizes kept me out of this business, so that I was not blamed on either side.

Whilst I was at York I had a letter of thanks from my Lord Feversham, and in it this account, that he had spoken to the King about the manor of York; but found that he had promised it to Father Lawson, to the uses before mentioned; that his Majesty said that he did not know that I lived in it, and if I had been at any charge in repairs, &c., I should be considered for it. His lordship further added in that letter, to use his own words, that the King said that if I were not so good a man as I was, he had not kept a governor there so long as he had done, and that he spoke of me with all the expressions of kindness and esteem I could desire. Several citizens inquired if I intended to stand for the next Parliament when one should be called. I said first I heard of none to be summoned as yet. When it was I should declare what I was to do.

August 8. I had something further to say to the Duke of Newcastle in the matter of my Lord Feversham's marriage with his daughter, the Lady Margaret. And not willing to go on purpose, I took the occasion of an offer his grace had made me to hunt in his park at Clipston, so called at Welbeck in passing (where I left my daughter Frances with my Lady Margaret to facilitate the thing there), and went on that night to Clipston to meet four or five gentlemen out of Yorkshire, to partake of that diversion. My lord duke pressed me to stay with him at

Welbeck, and to hunt at Clipston, the accommodation there not being very good, but I excused the giving his grace that trouble by reason of the company I was to meet, and so went to lie at Rufford, where there was a good inn. I settled the matter of my Lord Feversham so well in some minutes with the duke and duchess that I removed some mistakes between them upon the last conversation they had together at Welbeck, and got his grace to confirm the portion and his consent for the marriage, provided the duchess would observe the form of desiring the duke to consent in writing. And I prevailed with her (by force of some reasons which I gave her) to do it. But at the same time desired her not to declare she was content so to do; that the difficulties of it in his grace's opinion might make him the more earnest.

August 9. I killed only a brace of bucks at Clipston. I ran them down in three hours. We were about thirty horse in the park, and afterwards I entertained most of the company at dinner, and that evening returned to Thrybergh.

August 11. I had the news that the Duchess of Modena, mother to the Queen, being dead, the Court was gone into mourning for six months, that her Majesty would go to the Bath for her health, that the King would go a progress, during her stay there, of Gloucester, Worcester, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Chester, Lichfield, Coventry, Banbury, Oxford, and so to the Bath to bring home the Queen; and that he had given orders for my company, though regimented, to return to their winter quarters in York.

August 28. Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe came to Thrybergh in his return from Scotland. The next day we went to see the Marquis of Winchester at Rufford, he having borrowed that house in his journey to London, where he rested ten days. This lord had a vast estate, and his extravagance was as great in his way of

living as his plenty. He travelled this time with four coaches and a hundred horse in his retinue. His custom was to dine at six or seven at night, and his meal lasted till seven or eight in the morning. Sometimes he drank; sometimes he heard his music; sometimes discoursed; sometimes took tobacco, and sometimes ate; whilst the company did what they pleased. They might do the same, or rise, go or come, sit down or sleep. The meat and bottles continued all the night before them. In the morning he would hunt or hawk, if the weather was seasonable; if not he would dance, go to bed about eleven, and sleep till the evening. The man all this time was not mad, but had good sense, and most thought he counterfeited this that he might be free and unconcerned from affairs of that age, not caring to be under censure that his estate might be safe, which he studied and managed exactly in all this seeming disorder. I went from Rufford to Welbeck about the concern in hand, with good success.[1]

September 3. I returned to Thrybergh.

[1] Reresby's letter from York, August 31, 1687, to Lord Halifax, in the Spencer collection, thus alludes to the same matter: 'I went with Colonel Oglethorpe on Saturday last to see the sight of the Marquis of Winchester at Rufford; but saw only the marks of his having been there (for he was gone the day before), and he had dirtied the house more in that short time he stayed than your lordship's family would do in a year. I confess, my lord, I thought it impossible to add to the disorder of it much, and therefore (as well as to obey your command) the colonel and I lay there that night. We dined the next day at Welbeck. The duke had been drinking the night before with one Irail Fielding, then with him, and was both out of order and humour,' &c. Of the Marquis of Winchester, Bishop Burnet writes: 'This year (1699) died the Marquis of Winchester, whom the King created Duke of Bolton. He was a man of a strange mixture. He had the spleen to an high degree, and affected an extravagant behaviour; for many weeks he would not open his mouth till such an hour of the day when he thought the air was pure. He changed the day into night, and often hunted by torch-light, and took all sorts of liberties to himself, many of which were very disagreeable to those about him. He was a man of profuse expense, and of a most ravenous avarice to support that; and though he was much hated, yet he carried matters before him with such authority and success that he was in all respects the riddle of the age.'

September 12. The little bell which I gave the parish, being the first of five, was put up and tuned. It cost me 18*l.*

The president of Magdalen College in Oxford being dead, the King sent a *mandamus* to them to choose the Bishop of Oxford to succeed him; but their answer was, *locus plenus est.* The King, in his progress, coming to Oxford, and the masters and fellows of that college waiting upon him, he told them that the Church of England men did not use him well, that they had behaved neither like gentlemen nor good subjects, and bid them go presently back to their election and choose the said bishop, or they should feel how heavy a hand the King had. They went, but returned his Majesty this answer—that they were sorry to fall under his displeasure, but they could not make a new choice without committing wilful perjury, and therefore desired to be excused. It was generally observed in this progress, that the King courted the Dissenters and discouraged those of the Church of England; for the Papists not being numerous enough by much to contest with the Church of England, he thought to make that party the stronger by gaining to it the Dissenters whom he baited with liberty of conscience, and with telling them that the desire he had that the test and penal laws should be taken away was for their ease and security, as well as the Papists.

However this looked very strange that those people that so lately were the most busy in all Parliaments to take away his right to the crown,-nay, his life, too (for it was attempted in one Parliament to impeach him of high treason, upon the statute of reconciling himself to the Church of Rome), should now find preference to those of a Church that had preserved him against them, not only in Parliament, but in the field; but all things vale to the true zeal of the Roman Church, and nothing is longer esteemed or remembered than it is *pro bono ecclesiæ.*

September 28. The King now put out several aldermen that had ever been reputed faithful and loyal men to the Crown, and had stuck by his interest in the worst of times in the City of London. They were Church of England men that were displaced and those Nonconformists that were put in their places. Dr. Hough, president of Magdalen College in Oxford, was put out by certain Visitors appointed by the King for that purpose, for being elected, though according to the statutes of the college, yet contrary to the King's *mandamus*, which had recommended the Bishop of Oxford to that office. The doctor refused to quit till he was forced out of the college, and appealed from the Visitors to the King in Westminster Hall.

October 6. My Lord Feversham's page came down post to bring a letter from his lordship, another from my Lord Halifax, both to intimate to me that the King had promised to do something for my Lord Feversham, if he proceeded in the match proposed at Welbeck; but the quantum was not named by his Majesty. His lordship therefore designed to proceed, provided he might be accepted, by settling his estate at Holmby only in jointure to the lady, and reserve the 15,000*l.* portion to buy land with, but not to be part of the jointure. The 7th I went to Welbeck to assure the duke and duchess that this delay in writing by my Lord Feversham was from no disrespect, but by reason of his waiting the King's answer, which was at last as aforesaid. But when I told the duchess the other part (for the duke left all the terms of treaty to his wife) she would not hear of it, and positively insisted that the portion should buy land to be added to the jointure. That night I made a little debauch with the duke; the next day I returned and wrote letters of answer, which the page carried back, in which I told my lord plainly it did look more like interest than love to barter in a case of that nature, and used what reasons I could not to stand upon that if he liked all the rest.

October 16. I had an answer of mine from the Earl of Feversham, wherein he declared the 15,000*l.* should be laid out in land and added to Holmby for a jointure to my Lady Margaret. The next day I went to Welbeck and acquainted the duchess therewith, who was satisfied with it, and immediately wrote to my lord duke that she thought my Lord Feversham a fit match for her daughter, and therefore desired his grace to concur with her in it, and to give his consent. I carried this paper to him, who when he saw it flew into a passion, saying he never thought his wife such a fool as to do it; that this was to beggar his daughter; that she was lost for ever. And yet he would subscribe his consent, because he had promised it, but he would not give her in marriage, nor any more of his estate, and that he would leave the house when my lord came to marry his daughter. I was much amazed at this transport; I knew he cared not for the match, having a desire to marry her rather to the Duke of Berwick, and being of an unsteady, fickle humour. But when the thing came to him in the very manner that he had prescribed himself I could never believe that he would give his consent with his hand, and deny it with his tongue. I used all the arguments I could to reconcile him to himself, and to the match, but to no purpose. At the last I was something rough, and took my leave in some discontent and returned to Thrybergh that night. The next day I wrote him a letter wherein was this expression—that his carriage was certainly not prudent the day before, and bade him consider who this lord was, one of the first men of England for quality, alliance, preferments, virtue, &c., one recommended to him by the King with this expression, that what the duke did to him he should consider done to himself. That he had promised to give his consent if the duchess desired it under her hand without any such reserve; he had written the King word to the same effect and promised it to my Lord

Feversham when he was in the country; that some ill construction would be made of this proceeding, that it must look very strange to receive and make much of my lord when he came to ask his daughter in marriage, and to put either himself or my lord out of doors when he came to marry her, and by his consent under his own hand, that he should use his hand to subscribe his consent, and deny to give it her in pursuance of it. How would this sound to the wise part of the world, that he should thus interfere with himself, either he was indiscreet to promise it, or not wise to deny to perform it. To be firm and what we appear is the best character of a great man, and the best security to his friends and dependents. But if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who can prepare themselves for the battle? In short, for this and many other reasons I desired him only to withdraw those hasty expressions of not giving his daughter in the ceremony (when he had given her in act), and of going from Welbeck if my Lord Feversham came. He returned me thanks for my letter, received it patiently, but was not to be moved. The duchess wrote me word that after I was come from Welbeck, the Duke came to her and her daughter and used them very roughly in discourse, told her she was led by her daughter, and women must now be glad of husbands at any rate, &c., which so galled the young lady that she declared since her father was so averse to this marriage, she would live single till both father and mother agreed on a husband for her.[1]

October 20. I gave my Lord Feversham an account

[1] A letter from Thrybergh, October 19, 1687, in the Spencer collection, runs thus: 'I am sorry to hear of the afflictions of your family, and pray God to restore you to satisfaction in your own, which you have so cheerfully procured to others. The duke hath behaved himself after so brutal a manner in the last issue of that matter that I know not how to retail it to your lordship without too much trouble to your lordship and without some to myself. I have drawn his true portraiture this post to my Lord Feversham, where you may see enough of him, and no sign-painter can venture to draw such a figure often over.'

of all this proceeding, and told him if he thought it worth soliciting any more there was no way to gain my lord duke but to get the King to continue his titles (in case he died without sons of his own) to my Lord Feversham and his heirs by the Lady Margaret, and to change his name for Cavendish; for he had, I found, a desire to preserve the names and titles of his family. But how far this might operate after such a ferment was very hard to tell.

October 22. I had letters from the Duchess of Newcastle, wherein she complained of the continuance of my lord duke's severities to herself and daughters, that she asked leave to go to London, that he had granted it for herself (for upon some warm discourse that passed between he bade her begone out of doors), but that she would not leave her daughters behind her. She gave me an account of several other unhappy circumstances of that family, and owned very particularly the obligation she had to me. I had one from the lord of Feversham in answer to mine to this purpose, that the surprise was as great to him as to me of my lord duke's proceeding, that he was ever suspicious that he was not heartily for the match, but that which I had written to him was beyond imagination and so extraordinary it was the best for him to say nothing, but to thank me for all my trouble. The truth is he gave me more expressions of kindness than it is fit for me to own for this abortive work. He said that the duke for the future should be very quiet for him; but he was extremely concerned for the duchess and my Lady Margaret, but he hoped they would have more peace when he desisted. He sent also a letter enclosed to me for the duchess, wherein he acknowledged the obligations he had to her grace, &c.

I had a letter from the Marquis of Halifax by the same post upon the same subject of Welbeck (as he had assisted to it underhand all along), one expression of it was this, that my behaviour had been so clear and free from the

possibility of having any part of this ill success imputed to me, that it had increased the esteem of those for me on whose behalf I was willing to undertake the troublesome negotiation.

October 23. I sent my Lord Feversham's letter to Nottingham to the duchess, to which place, with much ado, the duke had released her with both her daughters from Welbeck, in order to their going to London. The duchess wrote back to me thus—that she did acknowledge the great civilities and compassion of my Lord Feversham, but she would give him no trouble of a letter of thanks, being to be in London the next week, but desired me to perform it for her. That by an unexpected Providence the duke had given her leave to go, and to take her two daughters with her, but the particulars of it were too long to write. Till she saw me in town she would therefore defer that history. She ended her letter with this assurance, that as long as she lived she would esteem me one of those whom she was most obliged to, and that she would ever be with respect, &c.

November 2. The corporation of Doncaster sent over their solicitor with a letter from their mayor, declaring that they had consented to an address to his Majesty, and desired me to recommend the bearer of it to some person of interest above to present it to the King. I returned Mr. Mayor and the corporation thanks for their application to me rather than to others of greater quality and interest than I was, and recommended them to the Earl of Feversham. I wrote his lordship word the same day that the Duchess of Newcastle and his mistress, the Lady Margaret, were upon their journey to London (and that when the mountain would not come to Mahomet, Mahomet went to the mountain).

November 5. I came to York with my family; I stayed there till December the 2nd, in which time several things happened. One was that I had a letter from one

Lawson, a priest, wherein he gave me notice that the King, having given him his house, the Manor of St. Mary's, in York, for the honour of God and the good of his people, he hoped that the same civility would be practised towards him which I used to others, in giving him a free and easy possession of it. I answered that it was part of my commission whereby I was governor of the place, and he should not think that I would divest myself of it by my own authority. I esteemed the King's bounty and was too proud of his service to do that, but if his Majesty did command it, I had nothing to say, but to obey. Only I hoped that his Majesty, if he gave it away (and it was but just in him to endeavour it), would give me some equivalent for it. Several letters passed between us; at last I heard from the Earl of Feversham that it was absolutely granted. Lawson put me in hopes that the King would consider it to me one way or other, and wrote word of several kind things the King said of me.

December 17. He came down to York, and claimed the possession, which it being to no purpose to contest, I ordered my housekeeper to give him, but he left it again for the present till I could send order to remove my goods. The clear profits, besides the use of the house for myself and friends, grass and hay for my horses whilst I stayed in town, was about forty pounds per annum. After this I did not expect that the rest would continue long after, for the King caused the lord-lieutenants of most, if not all, counties of England to call together all their deputy-lieutenants and the justices of the peace, and to ask them these three questions:

1. In case the King should call a Parliament and they should be chosen of it, would they give their votes to take away the Test and Penal Laws?

2. Would they give their votes for the choosing of such members as they believed would be for the taking them away?

3. Would they live peaceably with such as dissented from them in religion, as good Christians ought to do?

Several lord-lieutenants who refused to execute this order were turned out, and Papists put in their places, and the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace that did not give a satisfactory answer were generally displaced. This was indeed putting the thing too far, and the wondering of all men to what purpose it was done. For what answer could a man give that was to be a member of Parliament, till he heard the reasons and debates of the House? And who could tell the temper or intention of him that was voted for, till he came into the House? If men had a mind to deceive the King, how easy, nay, how likely was it for them to pretend to be of one judgment now and of another when they were of the House. Besides, it struck at the very foundation of Parliaments to pre-engage men, before they came there where they were to be allowed the freedom both of their speech and judgments. The most general answer that was given by Protestants of the Church of England was this, that they would give their votes so, if of the House, as the reasons of the debate directed them; that they would vote for such as they thought would do so; and that they would live quietly with all men as good Christians and loyal subjects. There were about this time great removes of officers, civil and military, and most corporations were purged of their Church of England aldermen, and Papists or Dissenters put in their places.

Whilst I stayed at York I had all the civility which I could desire from that city. They gave me several entertainments; I dined twice at the Lord Mayor's, once at the sheriff's at his feast, which was very extraordinary, besides several private invitations. I had word sent from the citizens of all quarters of the town that if I would stand they would choose me one of their citizens in Parliament, whenever it should please the King to call

one. I thanked them, but gave no answer whether I would stand or not.

The King, however, began to abate his being so pressing for the taking away of the test and penal laws, but yet the lord-lieutenants continued to ask the opinions of justices of the peace and deputy-lieutenants in most counties, but with little success.

CHAPTER XV.

The Earls of Oxford and Burlington displaced—Disturbance at York—Address from Justices at Pontefract—A Catholic's Opinion of Affairs—Examination and Committal of the Seven Bishops—Scenes at Westminster and the Tower—The Trial—Public Rejoicings at the Result—James visits the Fleet—Public Apprehensions—Promise of a Parliament—Reresby's seat for York threatened—His Conversation with the King thereon—Devices for his Support—Army Discontent—Proceedings at York—Threatened Landing of the Dutch—Suspected Designs of the Yorkshire Gentry on William's behalf—The Catholic Lord-Lieutenants superseded by the Duke of Newcastle—Lord Danby—A List of Deputy-Lieutenants of the three Ridings—Public Indifference about the Invasion—Declaration of the Prince of Orange—The young Prince of Wales—Militia Service at York—Landing of William—Sir Henry Goodricke and the Duke—York surprised and its Governor taken Prisoner—Danby's Share in the Matter—Treacherous Attempt of Lord Churchill—The King's Friends desert him—Proclamation for a free Parliament—Hull surprised—The Queen and Prince, followed by James, withdraw privately—William invited to London—The Catholics attacked by the Rabble—Jeffreys caught in Disguise at Wapping—James's passage intercepted—The new Members for York—William's Reception at St. James's—A Convention Parliament—The Prince's Reply to the Commons' Address.

1688.

January. My lord of Oxford, first earl of the realm, but low in his fortune, being commanded by the King to use his influence in his lieutenancy for the taking off the penal laws and the test, told the King plainly he could not persuade that to others which he was averse to in his own conscience, for which the King took from him his regiment of horse, and gave it to the Duke of Berwick.

At that time died Sir Thomas Slingsby, who had a troop in that regiment, which he bought for 2,000*l.*,

which the King denied to his son, though cornet in it, but gave that also to the Duke of Berwick.

About the same time the Earl of Burlington gave up his commission of Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding into his Majesty's hands, who gave it to my Lord Thomas Howard, only brother to the Duke of Norfolk, a zealous papist, which method of placing successors of that persuasion the King had followed in most lieutenancies in England as they became vacant.

March 1. I had notice by the Deputy-Recorder of York by an express that the lieutenant-colonel commanding in my absence had dealt very severely and illegally with the citizens, and that the occasion of it was a little tumult raised on Shrove Tuesday in this manner. That day being one of great liberty for boys and apprentices to play and throw at cocks, some of them playing near a house in the Minster Yard, disturbed the company in it. The master comes out, strikes one of the boys, and knocks down another. They, getting some of their companions together, throw stones at the man, and accidentally break the window of a popish chapel that was in his house. He being a Roman Catholic makes his religion the cause of the quarrel, sends to the lieutenant-colonel for two files of musketeers, who presently sends them, being of his own persuasion, and very ready to espouse the dispute upon that foot. At the coming of the soldiers the boys disperse, some of them are taken, and some citizens—being by as spectators but not concerned in the matter—to the number of fifteen. The soldiers carry them to the main-guard, tie them neck and heels and make them ride the wooden horse, not carrying them at all to the Lord Mayor (which ought to have been done, being citizens) to be punished according to law. And an ensign, one Oard, struck a citizen in the presence of my Lord Mayor. The lieutenant-colonel's account was little different as to the fact, but altered as to the occasion, for he said that some

priests had informed him the night before that they heard the rabble intended to pull down that house and the chapel, which made him act more severely; but I truly believe the uproar was merely accidental. I gave the King a particular account of the thing as it appeared most likely from the recorder. The lieutenant-colonel gave another himself, but at at the same time I excused the soldiers in this, that if they did transgress something in the method of punishing, the citizens deserved it a little for their former offences in this kind; for they rose in the same place and on the same day in my Lord Frescheville's time, and had near killed Doctor Lake (since Bishop of Peterborough) because he checked them for making a noise in the time of Divine service, and they endeavoured to pull down his house that stood in the Minster Yard. Another time they fell upon my company there at the funeral of my Lady Strafford, as I have before taken notice in the proper place.

March 8. The King of France began to recover after a sickness not much lamented at home or abroad.

April 24. I went from York to Pontefract, where the general quarter sessions began that day for the West Riding of Yorkshire. There were four-and-twenty justices of the peace of the principal gentry of the county together; the West Riding not having yet been examined as to their disposition of taking away the test and the penal laws as the East and North Ridings had been before, where the prime of the gentry in both had been put out of commission of justice of peace and deputy-lieutenants for declaring themselves in the negative, and ordinary persons both as to quality and estates (most of them Dissenters) had been put in their room. The popish justices, in number six, and Sir John Boynton, the King's serjeant, who aspired, I presume, to be made a judge, moved an address might be signed and presented to his Majesty of thanks for his late indulgence for liberty of conscience,

not only from the justices there, but the two grand juries. But neither any of the justices, but those I have named, and one Mr. Bull, nor any of the grand juries, would join in signing the address. However the Roman Catholics and those two gentlemen sent it up, subscribed by themselves, as the act of the whole sessions. By such acts as these the King was much deceived as to the opinion of his subjects concerning the indulgence; three or four men in divers places pretending to represent the thoughts of a whole corporation or county.

May 7. Was the Petit Sessions for licences of alehouses at Rotherham, where Mr. Hansby, a Roman Catholic justice, told me that the King was now convinced that he had been ill advised in putting the question so far concerning men's inclinations to take away the test and the penal laws; that he did intend to put some justices out and to admit others, but not by that method, but by informing himself, from such as he knew to be true to his service, how they stood affected as to liberty of conscience; and that he had particular order from my Lord Thomas Howard, who had it from the King, to advise first with me in that matter. I told him it was certainly of disadvantage to his Majesty's service the method lately taken, most of the principal gentlemen for estates and interest in their counties being thereby thrust out of employment; but this would prove a work of as much difficulty as fallacy, no man being able to give an account of another man's heart; nay, it was very hard in that particular for a man to give one of his own. For either he was to be a Parliament man, or he was not. If he was, no man could honestly say how he would vote, till he came there; and if he was not, nobody could tell what he would be for, till the meeting of the representatives in Parliament, on whose result they were to rely and to be concluded. Not but I believed most men were now convinced that liberty of conscience was a thing of ad-

vantage to the nation, if it might be settled with due regard to the rights and privileges of the Church of England. As to that he said the King declared openly that the Church of England should have any reasonable equivalent it could desire for its security, provided an Act of Parliament might pass for liberty of conscience. He told me we should meet and talk further of this matter. However, I then evaded as much as I could coming close to the thing, having no mind to declare myself too much or to characterise others.

May 26. I got to London without accident and performed my journey with better health (I thank God) than I could reasonably expect. I found things much in the posture there which I expected, the popish party extremely urging the King to press the taking off the test and the penal laws, and the other party unwilling to comply with it. That which made it the more warm was a late thing that had happened, which was this. The King had renewed his proclamation for liberty of conscience, with an order to the bishops to have it read in all the churches of their respective dioceses. The Archbishop of Canterbury and all the rest of the order, five only excepted, petitioned the King, and set forth thereby that they could not obey his Majesty therein; that no bishop or minister of the Church of England could give his consent for the declaration of liberty of conscience, and the reading of it by them or their order must imply a consent; that the like declaration had twice before been condemned in Parliament in the late King's time, and they might be accountable for it hereafter, for a thing adjudged contrary to law. Though the King could do no wrong, yet his agents or ministers were accountable for whatever they did by his command that was not legal, and though he thought fit to declare liberty of conscience, the ministers of the Church of England ought to persuade men as much as they could to adhere to their Church; but this publication of it in

that manner was to tell men that they needed not to come to church except they pleased, and it was no less than declaring that lawful to others which was against their own consciences. By the same rule, if the King command the bishops to read mass in their churches, they are obliged to obey. These and many other arguments were used by the bishops. The King, upon their refusal, gave a very angry answer, and they were commanded to appear before him in Council on the 8th of June.

June 1. I kissed the King's hand, who received me very graciously. The next day I attended the King on horseback into Hyde Park to see a regiment exercise, where he called to me twice, and discoursed with me upon several subjects. My Lord Marquis of Halifax came to see me, whom I found willing to consent to liberty of conscience, but not to take away the test and not all the penal laws together, but gradually, and upon good considerations.

June 8. Seven of the bishops appeared before the King in Council, where they were commanded to enter into recognizances of 500*l.* a man, to answer to an information against them in the King's Bench the next term, for disobedience to his Majesty's order concerning reading the declaration for liberty of conscience. This the bishops refused to do, saying they ought not to enter themselves into any security of that kind, till the information or indictment was found, and that if they did otherways it would be not only contrary to law, but a betraying the liberty of the peerage. Upon which the Archbishop of Canterbury and six more (being all that appeared) were committed to the Tower. This was very deeply resented by those of the Church of England. I saw the bishops, being then at Whitehall, come by me, going to take water for the Tower. They all looked very cheerful, and the Bishop of Chichester called to me, asking me how I did. The next day my Lord Huntingdon, one of the

privy council, told me that if the King had known how far the matter would have gone, he would not have enjoined the reading of the declaration in churches.

June 10. Being Trinity Sunday, about four minutes before ten in the morning, was born the Prince of Wales, to the great joy of the Court.

All the time that the bishops continued in the Tower, which was till the first day of the term, the numbers of those that came to the Tower were so great to ask the blessing of the bishops and to lament their confinement, that remarks were made both of the persons and carriage.

June 15. Being the first day of term the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the clergy moving for their habeas corpus, twenty-one of the prime nobility (both for quality and estates) appeared at the King's Bench to give bail for them, and they were set at liberty on bail. The hall and palace yards at Westminster were crowded with thousands of people begging their blessing as they passed; and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave it, advising them at the same time to be constant to their religion.

Ten Nonconformist ministers went to visit the bishops in the Tower, which the King took ill, and sent for four of them to reprimand them. They answered that they could not but adhere to them, as men constant to the Protestant faith, or to that effect. The soldiers that kept guard at the Tower drank very often the bishops' good health, which being told to Sir Edward Hales, Lieutenant of the Tower, he sent word to the captain of the guard to do it no more. He returned answer that it was being done at that very time, and that they would drink it, and no other health, whilst the bishops stayed there.

June 29. The information against the bishops was tried in the King's Bench, for framing and publishing a seditious libel, meaning the paper which they presented to the King containing the reasons they could not order

his Majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience to be read in churches. The jury would not find them guilty, and the counsel for the bishops, which were the ablest in England, used such arguments in their behalfs that the judges were divided, two of them declaring that the proofs did not extend to make it a libel, and two that they did; which cost the first two their places after the term, and two new judges were put in their steads. In this great argument the King's power to dispense with the laws was extremely arraigned, and the King's counsel so much outdone, that it was wished at court that the thing had never been begun. Westminster Hall and the Palace Yard, with the streets near them, were so full of people, and their huzzas and shouts for joy of their lordships' delivery so great, that it looked like a little rebellion in noise, though not in fact. Bonfires were made not only in the city, but in most towns of England, when the news of it came, though order was given to the magistrates in the city and elsewhere to prevent it. The parsons now began also to preach more loud and more open against popery than ever.

June 30. I waited on the King to Hounslow Heath, where the camp was then met. Everyone observed he was disturbed; but he spoke very kindly to me as I rode with him upon several occasions.

July 9. The Queen appeared in public the first time after her delivery. I carried my wife and daughter to kiss her hand and to give her joy of the Prince of Wales. She was kind to Frances, and both the king and she took notice of her as handsome.

July 10. I went to the camp with the King. I there acquainted him with a disorder which had happened at York upon occasion of some bonfires made by the rabble upon the news of the bishops being found not guilty. It should seem the magistrates not suppressing them or extinguishing the fires, Captain Monroe, com-

mander-in-chief, caused the soldiers to put them out, and to break the windows of such citizens as he conceived were concerned in the contributing to them, and in that zeal a great many innocent suffered with the guilty, especially the Chancellor, Doctor Watkinson, who complained of his usage to me. I knew the matter was not very nice to meddle in; however, I represented it and obtained of his Majesty that the officer should ask his pardon; but this was all, so angry was the king with fires upon that occasion.

July 12. I was at the general sessions held for the liberty of Westminster, and some days after at that for the county of Westminster, at Hicks Hall, where I found such a change of justices of the peace, and so many papists and fanatics put into commission, that I did not seek business, and mixed with them as little as I could. The justices at Hicks Hall caused several to be indicted for making bonfires and for contributing to them as rioters. The proof was very plain against them, but the grand jury would not find the bill, though the justices sent them out three times. Such kindness men generally had for the bishops and the Protestant religion. My Lord Halifax advised me, as things now inclined at court, to consider if it were safe to continue my employments. I answered that I had great obligations to the King, and would serve him as well as I could, whilst he allowed it, without prejudicing my religion.

July 13. My Lord Sunderland, long suspected to be a papist, declared himself openly in the King's chapel of that religion with the usual ceremonies.

July 17. I saw the finest fireworks made at the King's charge on occasion of the Prince of Wales that ever were seen in England.

The King went down to the mouth of the Thames to see the fleet, but the true cause was to appease the seamen, who were ready to mutiny upon occasion of some

sea captains using mass openly aboard their ships. The King flattered the seamen all he could, went from ship to ship and called them his children, said that he had nothing to say as to their religion, that he granted liberty of conscience to all, but expected that they should be have themselves like men of honour and courage when there was occasion for their service; but all the popish priests were ordered to be brought on shore. Admiral Herbert, an able seaman, whom the King had put out of great employments, because he would not promise to take off the test, went privately into Holland and was made rear-admiral there, which made the King very angry, a great many seamen going after him.

The King and Queen went the same day to stay at Windsor by the way of the camp, where I carried my wife and daughter to see the camp. The King, seeing the coach, rode up to it, and, laying his hand upon it, spoke to the company in the coach a good while.

August 1. I and my family went to Epsom to drink the waters. I met the Duke of Norfolk there, and he came to see me in London, where, discoursing of him, I found him firm to the Protestant religion, to the which he had been converted in the late King's time, and not satisfied with the Court.

August 25. I carried my wife and daughter to Windsor to wait on the Queen. The Court was in some trouble and the King out of humour (though he was always of so even a temper that it was hard to discover it) at the news of the Dutch having set out a great fleet as designed against us, that the French and the Dutch were to fall out, and that we were pressed on both sides to declare speedily which to take. This, considering our affairs at home—viz. the jealousies about religion, violent discontents about the army, and the ill time to call a Parliament to get money, did reasonably enough disturb our councils. The King the first thing he did was to

declare that he would call a Parliament to meet the 27th of November following, and gave several reasons for it in Council, relating to the good and satisfaction of the nation, more than the apprehension that he seemed to have for the Dutch. However, he commanded all officers whatsoever to repair to their commands, and drew the forces out of other garrisons and places to man the seaports, and particularly that the force then at York should be drawn from thence to Hull, so that not so much as one company was to remain behind. So soon as I heard I represented the inconvenience of it to the King's service as so great upon several accounts to his Majesty by my Lord Feversham, that the King ordered an express to be sent to York to countermand his first order.

August 26. The King met me as he went to see the Prince of Wales, who was then nursed in a house by the park. As soon as he saw me he laughed and said, 'We had like to have made you no governor.' 'Or, sir,' said I, 'a governor without a garrison.'

August 28. I took my leave of the King, but with apprehensions that he would have put the questions to me which he had to others if I would consent or endeavour to the taking off the test and penal laws in Parliament; but he said nothing of that to me, only enjoined me to stand the next Parliament at York, which I would have excused myself from, but could not; and wished me a good journey. At the same time I had news that the question had been put the week before to all our justices of the West Riding who had given their negative to it.

September 1. I wrote several letters to the Lord Mayor of York, Mr. Rains, to the aldermen and several citizens declaring my intention to stand for citizen there in the next Parliament and to desire their votes. The next post after I received for answer from his lordship that a court of aldermen had been called the day before

he received my letter, and that they had resolved, as most of the twenty-four and commons had done, to choose two of the bench for their members, viz. Mr. Prickett, their deputy-recorder, and Sir Stephen Thompson. The mayor, as he had ever been my adversary, had done this purposely to prevent my admission. I had encouragement, however, from other citizens that I might succeed. The truth was, I was at some loss how to act in this matter. I was not very desirous to be of this Parliament, for several reasons. I was more infirm and less able to travel, and to attend the duty it required. I believed the King would expect that from me there which my conscience would not permit, and as I was resolved not to violate the one, so I was unwilling to offend so good a master on the other side.

September 6. I went to Windsor and acquainted the King with my letters and their answers, desiring three things of him. One was, if, since the contest was like to be both chargeable and difficult, and the success doubtful, it were yet his pleasure I should stand, to which he said positively I should. Secondly, that in case I miscarried, the opposition being so strong against me, he would not impute it to my fault, which he promised me he would not. Thirdly, that he would assist me in all he could not to be baffled in the contest, by such means as I should propose, with which he complied, and gave orders to the lords for the purging of corporations (as my lord Marquis of Powis and Mr. Brent told me), that whatever change or alteration I desired in that city, it should be complied with, and that they should put in or out amongst the magistrates as I pleased, which the King, it seems, had reserved power to do by the last charters. I was very careful to act in this matter, considering if I put out none, it would show I had no power, and they would despise me; if too many, it might exasperate and make the city jealous that I was too deep in the Court

interest, which might prevent my success. I therefore only desired that the Lord Mayor might be laid aside and Sir Stephen Thompson be made mayor, which would prevent his being a member of Parliament; and that two, viz., Mr. Edward Thompson and Mr. Ramsden, who had been my principal friends in the former election of me for York, and were turned out afterwards partly on my account, might be put into their places. Taking my leave of the King, and giving him some Roman medals, which he accepted kindly, he charged me again to do what I could to be chosen.

I afterwards desired Mr. Brent, the agent in matters of corporations, that, if they had power, I might, with some I could name, be added to the bench of justices in the city by a writ of assistance, which he promised me should be done.

At this time fifty Irishmen and papists had been sent for from Ireland by the Duke of Berwick, to be put into his regiment, and every captain was to have some. But Lieutenant-Colonel Beaumont and five captains, being all that were upon the place, in quarters at Portsmouth, refused to take a man, saying their companies were complete, and that they were not to part with good men and Englishmen to take worse men and foreigners, and desired they might either choose their own soldiers or give up their commissions. The duke was angry, and sent an account of it to the King, who sent twenty horse to bring them up to Windsor in custody, where they were to be tried by a council of war. I spoke to them that day at Windsor, where they were just arrived, and they all were resolved to stand it out. They told me that the duke had not offered one man of them to my company, which was kind.

The Prince of Orange and the Dutch ambassador had lately given the King assurances that their preparations were not against us; but the French King caused

the troops to march that way, and the Dutch marched towards the country of Liege to meet them. The King of England made great preparations for a fleet against the spring. I was well assured by one that he had 2,500,000*l.* in his coffers.

September 10. The council of war sat upon Colonel Beaumont and the five captains, and they were all cashiered, but with unwillingness from the King for the consequence. They had offers of forgiveness if they would but have accepted the men, which they all denied. This spread a great discontent and jealousy throughout the army, and most of that regiment soon after quitted. The same day Sir Walter Vavasour and Mr. Middleton, of Stockeld, came up to give an account to the King of the answers of the Yorkshire West Riding gentlemen, and those of the corporations to the queries; in which the Lord Mayor and aldermen were so faulty that I found my greatest opposers there would be turned out without my help; and so I left them to their accusation, only insisted upon the commission of assistance for justices of the peace, wherein I named two persons to be joined with me. Every post brought new fears that I should not be chosen at York. Several alterations and restrictions from popular elections to a mayor and twelve aldermen, whom the King appointed as he pleased, were now made by new charters for the better choosing of such Parliament men as he liked.

September 16. My Lord Halifax, whom I took leave of, advised me not to be too earnest to be chosen, or, at the least, not to take the Court assistance too much, for many reasons then offered.

September 20. I went for Yorkshire by way of Bury. I stayed there two days with my aunt Monson, who gave gold to four of my children then with me. I arrived at home on Michaelmas even. I there received news that my interest for being chosen a member of Parliament was

much lessened for want of my presence there; but what discomposed me was, that Lord Montgomery's company, then at York, was ordered to march for Hull, so that if I came not speedily his lordship should be forced to give up the keys of the city to my Lord Mayor. I immediately went for York, where I received the keys, and the company marched. I represented to the King the inconvenience of their wanting one company of foot at the least in this garrison; and if it could not be spared, desired orders what to do with the keys. As to the first his Majesty answered, he had recalled the company upon mature deliberation; and as to the second, I might dispose of them as I pleased.

I desired my Lord Mayor to call a hall—viz., the aldermen and the common council and the twenty-four—that I might say something to them. A hall was called on the first of October, but the Lord Mayor—a great enemy to my election—not having patience to stay till I came, dismissed the assembly almost as soon as it met. He feared that what I had to say might make too many converts for my election. A day or two after comes down a proclamation, setting forth a certain intention of the Prince of Orange to invade this nation, assisted by the States-general, with a great fleet and a strong army, commanding all lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and other his majesty's officers, to be in readiness for the defence of the King and kingdom. At this time my Lord Thomas Howard was lord-lieutenant of the West Riding—a papist, who was gone ambassador to Rome, and he had left but three deputy-lieutenants behind him, two of whom were Roman Catholics, and but two of them in the country. There were at the same time most of the gentry of Yorkshire in that city, come upon expectation to meet writs for the choice of Parliament men. I therefore pressed the high sheriff, one Mr. Rokeby, to give notice to some gentlemen, and I convened others to meet the

next day; where Sir Henry Goodricke began a discourse, and I seconded, setting forth the reasons of our incapacity to serve the King with the militia, without another lord-lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning as being a Protestant, and at the same time subscribed a representation of our condition to his Majesty. I knew how ungrateful this would be to the King, and therefore gave him private notice of the intention of it, to prepare him for it, and begged my own excuse for complying in it, assuring him that now it was also for his service.

October 4. Comes a messenger to purge the corporation to put out the former mayor and aldermen, and to put in others, almost all papists; but it was so lame by mistakes in the execution of it, that it could not be done. The next day I prevailed with the Lord Mayor to call a hall, where I spoke to the assembly half an hour; and so far convinced them of the base practices that had been used against me, and of the injustice of them, that they all seemed to be for me. At which time I also gave them the keys, but made them own it as a courtesy, with condition that they should restore them, whenever I desired them for his Majesty's service. My Lord Fairfax of Gilling, a Roman Catholic (he was then lord-lieutenant of the North Riding), told me, coming to York, that there was some cause to suspect my lord of Devonshire coming at this time into Yorkshire, and my lord of Danby; the one came pretending to see his estate, the other to drink the sulphur water at Knaresborough. They both met at Sir Henry Goodricke's and other places, where they conversed often, and the first came to York, where I paid him civilities, and received others from him; the other I went to see at Sir Henry's, not believing that men of that quality and estate could design anything prejudicial to the Government or dangerous to themselves; and their carriage appeared very innocent.

October 6. I had letters by express from my Lord Preston, the new Secretary of State—my Lord Sunderland being laid aside who was turned papist, and had done great harm since he was near the King—that the King had received our representation of the county very kindly, and complied with it in naming the Duke of Newcastle lord-lieutenant of the whole county, who came to town soon after, and calling together the gentry, appointed his deputy-lieutenants and militia officers, both horse and foot.

The King began now to find his error, but too late, in carrying things so high upon popish councils and foundations. He now restored several justices of the peace in counties, and the old charters all over England. He restored the Bishop of London, Magdalen College, and began again to court the Church of England.

October 10. The news of the Prince of Orange increased daily, as to his great fleet ready to sail.

October 13. A company of foot of Colonel Cornwell's regiment came from Scarborough to York by the King's order. The Earl of Danby arrived to make a visit to the duke, who was not pleased at it, saying he came to govern him and to have the reputation of being his adviser and counsellor. The question was now whether Roman Catholics should have commissions. The duke inclined to it, but it being debated, the deputy-lieutenants convinced the duke against it. My lord of Danby made very merry with the duke upon several steps of his proceedings, but the particulars are not worth mentioning. The duke would not disoblige the papists by leaving them out of the commission till he wrote to the King, who wrote order that they should not be put in till he directed it.

I had orders from the King that some seven hundred Scotch horse and dragoons were on their march from Scotland, and on the 15th I received them into this

garrison. I was in great hopes they would have continued at York, for the security of it and the country; but the danger increasing hourly above from the apprehensions of the prince's landing, and the King having a desire to increase his army by that addition, they had orders to march southwards after three days' stay in that garrison. The Duke of Newcastle, who kept nothing from me, advised me that he heard my lord of Danby had a great deal of money in the bank of Holland; that he had been invited up to London by my Lord Bellasis and the King's order; that he had made some offers of his service to his Majesty, but that he did not intend to go up. I knew the truth of the latter part of this from other hands.[1]

Upon some discourse with the said earl at the dean's house, the 15th of October, he used these expressions: 'We are in ill condition now in this nation all ways, for if the King beat the prince, popery will return upon us with more violence than ever. If the prince beat the King, the Crown and the nation may be in some danger.' All which was not altogether untrue.

October 17. The citizens of York being now brought

[1] A letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Sunderland, preserved among the State Papers, dated at York, October 14, contains the following passage: 'Sir John Reresby is very kind and friendly, and does everything with great prudence, and I perceive his endeavours are wholly to serve his Majesty, and I assure your lordship he has great interest in this city.' With this letter is enclosed a list of the deputy-lieutenants of the county at this critical period, which will be interesting to some readers. The names given are—For the West Riding: Lord Latimer, Thomas Lord Fairfax, Sidney Wortley, Esq., Sir Henry Goodricke, Sir John Reresby, Tobias Jenkins, Esq., James Moyser, Esq., Christ. Tankard, Esq. For the North Riding: Thomas Rokeby, Esq., high sheriff; John Darcy, Esq., Sir David Fowles, Sir Thomas Pennyman, Thomas Worsley, Esq., John Gibson, Esq. For the East Riding: Sir Thomas Rudston, Sir Ralph Warton, Sir James Bradshaw, Tobias Jenkins, Esq., James Moyser, Esq., Thomas Hesketh, Esq. Of Reresby's stepfather, the duke writes, October 16: 'Mr. Moyser has assisted me much, who is a most loyal and wise gentleman, and my old acquaintance and good friend.'

over, were generally kind to me, and promised to be for me in my election. The city wanting their head in civil matters, made their application to me in that capacity also. There were about that time three extraordinary things which might properly be said of York: that it was an archbishopric without a bishop, a city without a Lord Mayor, and a garrison without a soldier. But these were soon after all supplied. The old charter of all was restored to the city and the old Lord. Mayor, as it stood upon the delivery of the first and the ancient charter, without one papist in it. The Bishop of Exeter, who fled from thence upon the landing of the Prince of Orange, was made Archbishop of York; and I had one company of foot sent to continue, as I said before.

It was very strange, and a certain forerunner of the mischiefs that ensued upon this invasion, that neither the gentry nor common people seemed much afraid or concerned at it, saying, 'The prince comes only to maintain the Protestant religion—he will do England no harm.' On the other hand, it was suggested from Court that he aimed at the Crown, and the Dutch, who assisted him, at the trade, of England. And the truth is, his own declaration when it came, which was a little before he landed himself, seemed suspicious enough; for it set forth all the grievances of the nation with great aggravations—as the King's intention to subvert the Government both in Church and State; that he intended to root out the Protestant religion, to which purpose he had set up the dispensing power with the laws; had moulded all the charters to his own mind, to the end he might have such members of Parliament chosen as he desired; had examined and pre-engaged such as he intended for members in the matter of taking off the test and the penal laws; and had, chiefly, put a feigned or supposititious Prince of Wales upon the nation, only to promote

popery, and to defeat the Prince and Princess of Orange of their right of succession.

A little before the invasion, the King, hearing that the prince's being born of the Queen made so much noise, called an extraordinary council, where all the nobility bishops, foreign ministers, &c., were summoned, that were in London, and appeared; where the queen dowager, several lords, ladies, and the King's and Queen's servants, to above the number of forty, both papists and Protestants, gave pregnant evidence of the true birth of the prince; all which was re-examined in Chancery upon oath, and there recorded.

October 18. Having often dined with the duke, who kept a great table, and spent whilst he stayed at York as he said above 100*l.* per week, I invited him to dinner. He brought his own company with him, my Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Goodricke, Sir Michael Wentworth, and Mr. Moyser. I had the music to improve the entertainment, and wine that the duke tasted of so plentifully that he grew so kind as to kiss me and to call me his mistress. The same day I persuaded him to form all the eight troops of the county into a regiment, which he accepted and offered me to be lieutenant-colonel of it; but I declined it, and he gave it to my Lord Fairfax.

October 26. All the troops were called to York, regimented and officered. The duke drew them up on a common near York and marched them into town.

October 29. Came a report as if the Dutch fleet had been much shattered by the storm; that my Lord Sunderland was certainly out, and my Lord Preston Secretary of State. The King all this time was making great preparations and levies for his army, and had brought it by computation to 6,000 horse and dragoons, and 38,000 foot.

The fleet was also out at sea, commanded by my Lord

Dartmouth, but much inferior to the Dutch, and did nothing to the purpose.

November 1. I caused the companies of the city regiments to exercise by companies. The next day I drew them out and exercised them regimentally to the same place where the horse exercised before, and then marched them myself into the city, attended by a troop of volunteers of citizens that offered to march with me, my son William being at the head of them. I gave the regiment, when I dismissed them, 5*l.* to drink. On the 3rd I entertained all the captains at dinner, the next day the lieutenants, and the day after that all the ensigns. That day the Prince of Orange's declaration, sent by an unknown hand to a citizen, was brought to me, which I sent up to the Secretary of State. Orders were sent at the same time to secure my Lord Lumley, then in the North Riding; but he who was commanded to that service, Colonel John Darcy, pretended he could not find him, though it appeared afterwards that he was not far off, and Darcy might have seized him if he pleased.

November 4. I received by an express from the Secretary of War that the Dutch fleet was seen off Dover, sailing westward, which gave us hopes, however, that they would not land in the north.

November 7. I had another express that the prince was certainly landed at Torbay, in the west, the 5th of November, and had marched straight to Exeter, attended by the Marshal de Schomberg, an experienced officer, my Lord Macclesfield, my Lord Wiltshire, Sir John Hotham, Doctor Burnet, Sir William Waller, and a great land army.

I sent the Duke of Newcastle word of this invasion, though he had notice of it from above; but he wrote back, that they being landed at that distance, his being at York was less necessary, which I much disapproved of, the danger not being only from the invaders, but their

confederates at home; it being impossible that the prince durst attack England with an army of under 20,000 men, if he expected not good help in England. The deputy-lieutenants then at York seemed much concerned for securing the peace of this county with me, and at a meeting held the 13th of November did all agree that it was fit besides that a regiment of foot be always relieved by another of the militia, whilst the danger continued, that two troops of horse of the militia should continue at York to suppress any sudden rising if it should happen. And at the same time that the gentry and freeholders of the county should be desired from that meeting to attend here on Thursday the 19th instant, to draw up some instrument or declaration of our loyalty to the King in this time of danger, and to consult of such things as might tend to the honour of God and our own safeties. This being moved by Sir Henry Goodricke, I said I thought a thing of that nature, declaring our adherence to the King according to the laws of the land and the obligation of our religion might be so good to the Government and so discouraging to its enemies. that I did heartily concur in it. Accordingly a paper of summons was written, and dispersed to give notice through the county, to meet. At the same time I wrote to my Lord Preston, Secretary of State, of this supposed loyal intention of the gentlemen of this county, and to my Lord Duke of Newcastle, desiring he would be here at that time.[1]

[1] In the British Museum is a letter from Sir John to Danby, dated November 14, 1688, complaining of the quality of some of the new county justices: 'Amongst others, John Eyre, of Sheffield Park, Mr. Ratcliffe, &c. The first can neither write nor read; the second is a bailiff to the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk's rents; and neither of them have one foot of freehold land in England. My lord, I fear this matter being unseasonably notified at such a time may change the good measures we were upon, and divide the country; though the gentlemen here appear not much concerned at it.' The endorsement of this letter by Danby—apparently made many years later in a trembling hand—is remarkable. 'From the Governor of York, 14 November, 1688, by which I timed my going to surprize York, which I did on the Thursday mentioned for the gentlemen's meeting there.'

November 15. Being that day at dinner with my Lord Fairfax, Sir Henry Goodricke, &c., at one Squires', where we were invited, the clerk of the peace for the West Riding came to give notice of a new commission, whereby some thirty principal gentlemen of the West Riding were left out, and Sir Henry Goodricke amongst others, which put him into a passion and made him declare that he was sorry for promoting so good a thing as the said meeting for the King's service. This same day I heard there was something more than appeared intended to be done at the time of it. Some said a petition for a speedy and free Parliament, &c.; others said more things would be represented and insisted upon. But Sir Henry Goodricke and others absolutely denied it, to which (he being an open man) I confess I gave credit more than I ought to have done; but friendship deceives many.

November 19. My lord duke came to York and said he heard there was a design to petition for a free Parliament, and that he thought it not fit so much of the militia should be together. We sat that night together till twelve, and resolved that, except the petition or intended address was very loyal, we should not join in it.

November 20. The duke called together all his deputy-lieutenants then in York, viz., my Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Sir Henry Goodricke, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Danby, Mr. Jenkins, and others to the number of ten, and desired to know if there was any other design by this assembly on Thursday than to make a declaration of loyalty to his Majesty. Sir Henry said plainly he did intend to petition for a free Parliament; and he hoped the rest that would meet would concur in it, after the example of a late petition from some bishops and some temporal lords. The duke then said he would not stay to be affronted or overruled by his deputies, but would return the next day. I opposed this extremely, saying

that nothing could be absolutely resolved of till all the gentlemen appeared; and that, if any other thing besides a declaration of loyalty should be thought necessary, it might be so penned, and with that modesty, that it might satisfy here and not displease above. However, it was fit his grace should be here at a time of such difficulty.

November 21. He went away, according to his word, declaring nobody had stood by him at this debate but myself, for I had said many things against this way of petitioning. I pressed him to dismiss the horse, but he did not.

November 22. The day being come, and the fatal one, I would not go to the common hall, where the meeting was appointed. Nor, indeed, was I very able, being ill bruised by my horse falling upon me as I came from home; but I heard that, amongst about 100 gentlemen that met, Sir Henry Goodricke spoke to this purpose, that there having been a great endeavour by the Government to bring popery into this kingdom of late years, and to invade the laws many ways, that there was no way to redress grievances of this and other natures but by a free Parliament; and therefore this was the only time to petition the King for it; and a better pattern could not be followed than what the lords spiritual and temporal, or some of them, had done before, which he read there before them. Some differed from him in this matter, as Sir Thomas Yarburgh,[1] Sir Lyon Pilkington, and one Mr. Stockdale, who said it ought to be moderated in some expressions, and that at the same time that we petitioned we ought to assure the King to

[1] Sir Thomas Yarburgh was twice returned member for Pontefract, viz., in 1685 and 1688. His grand-daughter married Sir John Vanburgh, the architect and dramatist, and it was believed by the Yorkshire gentry of the last century that the character of the coarse country squire ridiculed in *The Journey to London* (the Sir Francis Wronghead of Cibber's adaptation, *The Provoked Husband*) had Sir Thomas Yarburgh for its model, Vanburgh having quarrelled with the family.

stand by him in these dangers which threatened both him and his kingdoms, with our lives and fortunes; but it was opposed. When such a draft was finished as Sir Henry and his party approved of, though many that disliked it went away, they began to sign; and when Mr. Wortley Montagu and Sir Henry had done, before a third man could sign, Mr. Tankard runs into the hall and cries that the papists were risen, and had fired at the militia troops. At this all the gentlemen ran out, and those that were privy to the design got their horses, which were laid ready for them, as Sir Henry Goodricke, Mr. Wortley Montagu, Mr. Tankard. My Lord Danby, who was ready in his lodging expecting this feigned alarm, my Lord Dumblane, his son, my Lord Willoughby, two Mr. Berties, my Lord Lumley, my Lord Horton, and several others, who made a party with their servants of a hundred horse, well armed and well mounted, rode up to the four militia troops drawn out for another purpose, and cried for a free Parliament, the Protestant religion, and no popery. The captains of these four troops were Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Mr. Robinson, and Captain Tankard, who, being made privy to the design only the night before, but men ready enough in their tempers for such an action, complied, and led all their men to join with them. The first step they made was to the place where the guard of the standing company was kept, consisting of about twenty men, which they surprised, before I had the least notice or jealousy of such an attempt, not believing it possible that men of such quality and estates, however dissatisfied, would engage in a design so desperate, and so contrary to the laws of the land and the religion which they professed. As soon as I heard of it I sent for the officers and the guard, but found it was surprised. I then sent to every captain to bring his troop to me as the King's governor, as also to the other guard of foot of the militia, who all denied to

march or to obey orders. I then sent for my horses, and as I was preparing to go to the troops, hoping to regain them to the King's service if I appeared, Sir Henry Bellasis, who had commanded a regiment in Holland under the prince, and lurked long here in Yorkshire for his service, drew up a party of thirty horse before my door, and there prevented my going out, till my lord of Danby, with his chief companions, came up to me.

My lord told me that to resist was to no purpose; that he and these gentlemen were in arms for a free Parliament, and for the preservation of the Protestant religion and the government, as by law established, which the King had very near destroyed, and which the Prince of Orange was come to assist them to defend, and that he hoped I would join with them in so good a design. I told him I was for a Parliament and the Protestant religion as well as they, but I was also for the King. He replied that he was so too, and therefore he hoped that as we agreed in principles so we should agree in action. I told his lordship that, though we agreed in the matter, I could not agree with them in the manner. I did not conceive anything ought to be exacted from the King by any manner of force, and that particularly, having his Majesty's commission of governor and for his service, I could not join with those that acted against his authority and commission, let the consequence be what it would. He then said he must imprison me. I told him I was naked, and my friends had relinquished the King's service and me, and I was in his power. After they had considered together, he told me he knew me to be a man of honour, that my engagement not to stir nor write was as good a restraint upon me as a guard or a prison. So I was only confined upon honour to my room, recommending, however, to me to consider of his offer. After this the same day they secured all the gates, set strong guards upon them, and suffered none to go in or out;

secured such persons as they thought approved not of their proceedings, especially the officers of the standing company, which the next day revolted all to them except the officers. The militia, both horse and foot, entirely joined with them except one Mr. Collins, lieutenant to my company of the city regiment.

They next entered the magazine and stores, which, God knows, were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding my frequent representations of it to the King, both before and of late; so that a defence with but one company of about fifty men, and but twenty of them on the guard, without ammunition or stores, against 500 horse and two militia regiments of foot, who treacherously joined with them—nay, the whole city almost, that either for fear or inclination, declared for them—was a mockery, and what could never be expected in our unfortunate case had there been no surprise. The militia troops and some of the gentlemen that were volunteers, who were not sixty men besides servants, ransacked several houses which belonged to papists, or where they lay, for priests, arms and horses, and took them where they found them. They took a company of foot just raised by Captain Witham, not yet armed, quartered at Tadcaster, and another of grenadiers, commanded by Captain Villars, on their route for London, as they came to York; but as yet they did not touch any property but the King's and the papists', and mine by taking coals and some other provisions which I had laid in for the use of the garrison.

November 24. The earl caused my Lord Mayor to call a hall, where his lordship made a speech, setting forth the cause of their rising and of their declaration, desiring that the city would concur with them in the latter, which they there did agree to sign, as also several gentlemen. The declaration being the next day printed, there were of hands of lords, six; of lords' sons (younger ones), three; of baronets, five; of knights, six; of squires

and gentlemen, sixty-six; citizens of York, fifty-six. The news from Nottingham was then that the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Delamere, with many more lords and gentlemen, were risen there upon the same account, and that great numbers flocked to them. The King at this time marching to Salisbury, where he had appointed the rendezvous of his whole army, and had sent the young Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, some said to France.

November 26. Having made it my request to the Earl of Danby that I might have leave to be a prisoner at my house in the country, where I would engage not to act, but to acquiesce and abide a true prisoner, he sent for me to come and dine with him. At my coming he told me, that I might eat my dinner the better upon the said terms, I should have leave to go when I pleased. At dinner he told me that the duke's going away had given room for their design, but that it was feared I knew or suspected something of it. I answered I did believe they would go high in their petition, but never suspected so many gentlemen of that rank and quality would venture to engage in so dangerous a matter; and if I had known it, I should certainly have resisted, though to little purpose, or have escaped out of the town.

Upon discourse with several of the gentlemen, I found they began to consider of the King as more dangerous than they thought at the first, and were troubled that men came not faster into them. My Lord Willoughby said it was the first time any Bertie was ever engaged against the Crown, and it was his trouble; but there was a necessity either to part with our religion and properties, or do it. I gave him reasons why all those invasions upon either faith or property might have been prevented without a force, as by a thorough representation of the whole kingdom concerning them, and desire of a redress in Parliament, which his Majesty must have necessarily complied with in a short time; the want

of money; the distraction and discontent of the nation; and a plain discovery that popery could never now be settled in England, obliging the King to it for his own safety and interest as well as theirs.

Sir Henry Goodricke would have persuaded me the same day to have signed the declaration, but I told him I could not do it. For though I should agree with the matter of it, yet since they were now in arms to assert it, the signing of the declaration and petition was no less, in my judgment, than joining in the force.

Mr. Tankard pressed me to be of their party the same day, setting forth the great advantage it would be to them, which I still persisted to deny.

That day the clerk of the peace gave me notice that a new commission was brought down, and all those gentlemen added of the West Riding, formerly put out, as I mentioned before; but that myself and two more were now left out. My lord of Danby took hold of this, and said at dinner that this showed a resentment against me, and that I should find I should be worse used by that party than by them; but did not affect me.

November 27. The Duke of Newcastle sent orders to his captains of horse to dismiss their militia troops, but they refused to obey him, and laughed at him for his message. One of his gentlemen that came from him with an express was persuaded not to return, but to ride one of the Earl of Danby's horses in this expedition. My Lord Lumley told me the same day that for all he was sorry I did not join with them, yet I had performed a wise and a generous part, in my circumstances, to refuse it.

November 28. I obtained a pass of their generalships to go home to Thrybergh, upon engagement to be confined to that place or five miles from it, to live peaceably, and not to act in any hostile manner. The news came then as if the army had voted for a free Parliament, but declared at the same time that they would defend the

King's person against all men, which was the very thing I desired to be the subject of our Yorkshire petition or declaration, and the denial of which made me refuse to subscribe or agree to it.

Soon after we heard that several great men, officers of the army, and particular confidants of the King, had revolted from him and were gone to the Prince of Orange; and that particularly on the 19th of November, the King being got to Salisbury, where his army then rendezvoused, the Lord Churchill, one of his major-generals, under pretence of showing his Majesty the outguards of his army, had led him into a train, where he had certainly been betrayed into the hands of a party of the prince's army, but that an immoderate bleeding at the nose prevented his going. My Lord Churchill, finding that he missed of his design, went immediately over to the prince, accompanied by the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and others. This ungrateful Lord Churchill was raised from page to the King to the degree of a viscount of England, and had got a great estate with it, by the King's bounty. But what was the most surprising was that the King, seeing that it was hard to know whom to trust, and returning to Andover the 24th, there supped with him Prince George of Denmark, his son, and the Duke of Ormond; both of whom left him and went over that night to the prince, with my Lord Drumlanrig (son to the Duke of Queensberry) and Mr. Boyle, heir to the Earl of Burlington.

November 25. The Princess of Denmark withdrew herself privately from Whitehall with my Lady Churchill, and came to Nottingham. The number of those that revolted was not 1,000 in all as yet, but everyone was so jealous one of another that they knew not whom to trust; so the army and artillery were marched back towards London, and the King came there on the 26th. The outquarters of his army were at Windsor, Reading, &c.

November 27. The King called all the lords spiritual

and temporal then in town, about fifty in number; whose advice he took to order writs to be issued out for calling a free Parliament, for putting all Roman Catholics out of his councils and employments, for issuing out a general pardon to all those that were assisting the prince, and for sending commissioners to treat with him. The proclamation came out accordingly for a Parliament to be called to meet the 15th of January next; and my Lord Halifax, my Lord Nottingham, and my Lord Godolphin, were named commissioners to go to the prince.

December 1. I got to Thrybergh with my horses and arms without any disturbance, and I thank God I left York without any clamour or reflection upon me in the least in the matter of my command.

December 3. Kingston-upon-Hull—that considerable garrison, and looked upon as one of the strongest in England, both for the citadel, its situation and number of men—was surprised by Mr. Copley, lieutenant-governor, who, getting a party with him, seized the governor, my Lord Langdale, in the night, and a great many Roman Catholics then in town, who had fled thither for safety; and the soldiers joining in the treachery, they declared for the Prince, and the Protestant religion, giving immediately notice to the gentlemen at York what was done. If such places as this revolted, it was no wonder that York could not be kept. About the same time a party was sent from York to Welbeck to take the Duke of Newcastle's horses and arms; which they effected, but did not meddle with his person.

Portsmouth, also a strong garrison, was taken, but that was by the treachery of the governor—the Earl of Bath, who had been raised from baronet to that degree and to a great estate by the Court—who revolted to the prince. Bristol and several other less places followed the same fate.

In that part of Yorkshire where I lived very few

gentlemen continued firm to the King; nor, indeed, in any part of the North of England.

December 8. The Prince of Wales, poor infant, was brought from Portsmouth to London, when everybody believed he had been sent into France; and on Sunday night, being the 9th, the Queen with the prince went about twelve o'clock to a barge down the river secretly prepared, and, the wind being fair, wafted over to Dunkirk. A regiment of Scotch horse deserted and went over to the Prince of Orange, from the King's army. There was scarce an hour but his Majesty received, like Job, some message of some revolt or misfortune or other. So that the King himself, upon the 11th, by ill advice, did also withdraw himself privately, with only two or three persons along with him, as most thought, to follow the Queen. This absenting himself was the more wondered at, because the commissioners sent to the Prince of Orange had sent him word that they thought that things might be accommodated with his highness to his Majesty's satisfaction; whereupon he ordered the Cabinet Council to meet the next day at nine in the morning, but intended nothing less than to be there, but went away that very night, without leaving any orders behind him or directions in the least. My Lord Chancellor withdrew himself at the same time, and took the Great Seal along with him; so that all things seemed to be left in confusion, and the general consternation was suitable to it. Upon this the lords spiritual and temporal and the general officers wrote to the prince to let him know that the King had left them, and that they would endeavour to keep all things in order till they received his highness's directions, inviting him to town at the same time.

The rabble being sufficiently animated against the papists before, and more especially now thinking (and reasonably) that the counsel given the King to withdraw himself came from them, rose in prodigious numbers, and

dividing themselves, pulled down the chapels of that worship, and many houses of such as did profess it, taking and spoiling their goods, and imprisoning such as they suspected to be priests; nor did they forbear the very chapels and houses of ambassadors and other public ministers; and particularly that of the Spanish ambassador, who had—as it was believed, of his own and other persons, who sent their plate to him for protection—goods and plate taken from him to the value of a hundred thousand pounds. What was of less value, and relating to that superstition, was publicly burnt in the streets.[1]

December 12. The same day my Lord Chancellor, who had stayed too long at London for the tide, though he was disguised as a seaman, and had cut off his eyebrows, was stopped at Wapping, and there taken and committed to the Tower by order of the Lords. He was first brought before the Lord Mayor upon suspicion; but as soon as known, they were forced to give him a strong guard, or else he had been torn in pieces by the rabble. Soon after Mr. Penn, the great quaker, who had joined with the papists in all their late councils at Court, a very

[1] In a letter written to Lord Halifax, now among the Spencer MSS., from Thrybergh, December 9, 1688, Sir John gives an account of the surprise at York, and goes on: 'I should be glad to receive some light in this obscure matter, and what shines from your lordship is ever clearer to me than what I receive from others. Some here are not so kind to your lordship in their expressions as I expected. The great earl is their only idol; but this may be artifice. I am bold to aver that I have left York, where I have been seven years (and principally by your lordship's assistance), without any reflection as to allegiance or miscarriage as governor, insomuch as if I was allowed to stand I believe I could yet be chosen for the ensuing Parliament. They take no notice of the King in their actings or discourse, only the Earl of Danby declared they did not intend him the least harm. They have had some quarrels amongst themselves, especially the Lords Lumley and Willoughby, which went high; but this will be a slow messenger of news. I doubt not but you have heard from Welbeck that the duke was disarmed and lost some of his horses; and that he is angry with the duchess as being, he thinks, in the plot. Princess Anne was invited to York, but refuseth to come from Nottingham till she hears from the prince.'

witty man, and one the King trusted in very much, for his advice in promoting the dispensing power for liberty of conscience, was taken; and Father Petre, the King's confessor, who was the greatest incendiary in that transaction, and one of the privy council, the first Jesuit that had sat there for many years.

The King at his going away wrote to the general officers of the army to this effect, that things being come to extremity, and being forced to send away the Queen and prince, he was forced to follow himself; hoping that it might at some time please God to touch the hearts of this nation with true loyalty and honour; that if he could have trusted in his troops, he would in the least have had one blow for it. But though there were some loyal and brave men amongst them, both officers and soldiers, yet it was their own advice to him not to venture himself at their head, or to fight the Prince of Orange with them. He thanked those that had stuck to him for their fidelity; and though he did not expect they should expose themselves by resisting a foreign army and a poisoned nation, yet he hoped they would preserve themselves free from associations and pernicious things. Postscript: that as he had ever found them loyal, so they ever had, and ever should, find him a kind master. My Lord Feversham, commanding as general, sent this letter to the prince, and told him that it bearing directions or orders not to make opposition against anybody, he had given notice of it in the army, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood; and upon it a great part of the army disbanded.

About the 11th or 12th day his Majesty, being in a hoy, with very few with him, amongst others Sir Edward Hales, and passing from an island in Kent, was boarded by a boat that had thirty-six armed men on board her, which was going, as they called it, a priest codding or catching. They used the King, and especially those that were with him, very uncivilly, took from his Majesty 300

guineas, all he was worth at that time, and his sword. When they knew it was the King, they offered to restore both; the King received the latter, but not the first. Being brought to shore, he went to my Lord Winchelsea's, where he was taken with another fit of bleeding at the nose, which made him very weak and sick. Information being given to the lords above at Whitehall, they ordered four lords, Ailesbury, Middleton, Yarmouth, &c., with some of his servants, to attend him, and carry him necessaries. Some of his guards also, and my Lord Feversham, waited upon him; but their orders were to leave it to his Majesty's choice to go or return, which he pleased; it not being thought fit to put any restraint upon his person. The Lord Peterborough, the Earl of Salisbury (two new converts), and father Walker, Master of University College in Oxford, were also taken.

December 13. The Prince of Orange being invited to London by the lords that sat at Whitehall and the City, was come as far as Windsor before the news came that his Majesty was intercepted.

The same day, I hearing the writs were come to York for choosing members of Parliament, I wrote to my Lord Mayor and some other friends that whatever change I suffered my principles were the same, to secure the Protestant religion and to preserve his Majesty's person, and if they thought fit to choose me I was ready to serve them upon that foundation. It was not that I either expected to be chosen or desired it. I foresaw several things would be attempted or done in this Parliament which were very dangerous, and which honesty and true principles could neither consent to or be able to oppose. I wrote to my Lord Danby at the same time, letting him know my pretension and asserting my principle. He wrote me a very civil letter, in which he told me he neither questioned my principles as a gentleman nor as a Protestant, and could therefore wish I was a member of

the ensuing Parliament; but the city of York having offered his son, my Lord Dumblane, the citizenship for one and Mr. Alderman Thompson pretending to the other, he thought I should find it a difficulty to succeed there. However, I had liberty to go where I pleased, and that for the future I was no longer under restraint, and that if he could serve me in anything he should be very ready. On the 17th my Lord Dumblane and Alderman Thompson were elected without competition citizens for that Parliament.

Upon the 18th the prince, before he came to town, sent in his own forces and possessed himself of the Tower, quartered them in and near the town, placed them at Whitehall, and sent the King this message at two o'clock in the morning, that his Majesty must remove from thence that day to some place ten or twelve miles from London, and be attended by the prince's guards. His Majesty accordingly went to Rochester, attended by my Lord Dumbarton, my Lord Ailesbury, and my Lord Arran. Then the prince came to St. James's, where he was complimented and attended by a great many of the nobility; and the night was spent in ringing of bells, bonfires, and other expressions of joy by the rabble; but thinking men of the City seemed displeased at the King being forced to withdraw himself a second time.

At this first coming the prince seemed to countenance the Presbytery more than those of the Church of England, which startled the clergy. He ordered as many of the King's forces to be called together again as could be got, and confined my Lord Feversham in Windsor Castle for having disbanded them and for some other things laid to his charge. He took so much upon him that he made the Duke of Beaufort wait four hours before he gave him admittance.

The King, from this proceeding, began to apprehend he was in danger, and sent to the lords that he desired

to withdraw himself out of the kingdom. They took some time to consider what answer to give his Majesty. In the meantime he went away privately a second time. Those that were of the King's guards or other his troops in London, the prince sent twenty miles from thence, to make room for his own men.

The lords, having sat in the lords' house for some time, finding his Majesty refused to appoint another chancellor or lord keeper, or to produce the great seal, they being about sixty in number, spiritual and temporal, my lord Marquis of Halifax chairman, made an order for the banishing of all papists, but such as had been householders for four years last past, ten miles out of London.

December 25. The lords did not cease to sit on that day (being Christmas Day), and amongst other things framed an address to the prince, to take the government upon himself till things were settled.

December 26. A certain number of lords were appointed to carry it to the prince, to which he returned this answer, that he could give no answer to it till he had the opinion of the Commons. Two days before the prince had ordered my Lord Mayor and fifty of the aldermen and common council, with all such members of the House of Commons in town, in the Parliaments of King Charles II., to meet in the House of Commons, to sit there as a committee of that House, as the Lords formed one of theirs. They met to the number of about three hundred, and voted to agree with the Lords in most things, particularly in their address to take the Government upon him until the 22nd of January, when a convention was to be agreed upon to be called; those writs, it should seem, that were issued out for the calling a Parliament, and the elections that were made upon them, being void.

It was very much that in these confusions no more mischiefs had been committed. In the West Riding there

were few or no justices of the peace sworn but papists, who all absconded, nor any almost as acted as deputy lieutenants; and yet very few robberies, felonies, and not one murder, and scarce a battery, had been committed. Only some arms and horses had been seized of Roman Catholics, and that under colour of authority.

December 28. The prince, upon the address made to him from the Lords and the representatives of the Commons as is before mentioned, to take the government upon him until the 22nd of January next, made this answer to it, as also to other particulars relating to the revenue, the Protestant religion, and the kingdom of Ireland—that he would endeavour, according to their advice, to secure the peace of the nation till the meeting of the convention; for the meeting whereof in January next he would issue out letters to the counties and boroughs; that he would apply the revenue to the most proper uses that the present affairs required, and endeavour to put Ireland into such a condition as that the Protestant religion and the English interest might be maintained in that kingdom; and that he would hazard himself for the laws and liberties, and the preservation of the Protestant faith at all times in these kingdoms, it being the end for which he came.

At this time the news came that the King was safely arrived in France, and was gone to the Queen, who was at Paris, the French King having prepared the castle of Vincennes for their Majesties' reception and entertainment, but afterwards they removed to St. Germains. My Lord Tyrconnel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, all this while continued firm to the King's interest, with a great army of papists; and my Lord Inchiquin raised another of Protestants, and declared for the prince and the Protestant religion, having taken Londonderry and some other strong towns in that kingdom.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Prince of Orange summons the Convention—Changed Appearance of London—The Throne declared vacant—Discussions in the two Houses—Opinions of Seymour and Doctor Burnet—Halifax justifies his Support of William—Mob Influence—James's Flight due to Halifax—The Court Lady's Account of James—Halifax's insecure Position—William and Mary voted to the Throne—An Interview with Halifax—Murmurs against William—Proclamation of the New Sovereigns—Illegalities to be redressed—The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy—The new Privy Council—Danby and Halifax—The Convention converted into a Parliament—Danby's desponding View of Affairs—Reresby introduced to King William—Intentions of James—Halifax's cautious Policy—Lord Bellasis—Desertions in the Army—Enmity against Halifax—Lords Willoughby and Mordaunt—Conversations with Halifax—Attitude of William towards the Church—European Affairs—Conduct of the Bishops—The Dissenters—Scarcity of Supplies—Opinions of Halifax—The Coronation—Burnet and Halifax blame the Commons' Proceedings—Prospect of a War with France—Suspicion of Sir John's Loyalty—Sir William Temple's Son—The King's State of Health—A last Conversation with Halifax—Note on Reresby's Death and Descendants.

1689.

CIRCULAR letters were written by the prince to the peers, desiring them to give their attendance at the Lords' House upon the 22nd, that being the time appointed for the meeting of the convention both for Lords and Commons; and accordingly both knights, citizens, and burgesses were elected, by virtue of such letters, to the several counties and boroughs.

Finding but very few of the old soldiers of my company in Yorkshire, I sent to Sheffield and Rotherham to make new recruits; and in three days' time, only by sending my servants I raised near sixty young men without beat of drum; and, choosing the most likely,

sent them with an officer to the quarters at Southampton, the 16th of January.

I went to see the Duke of Newcastle at Welbeck, whom I found very loyal and firm to his master the King; and, consequently, as angry against the Earls of Danby and Devonshire, and such others as had been the actors in those parts for the Prince of Orange. He said he would always be loyal to the King, firm to his religion, and act always according to law. He showed me a copy of a letter he wrote to the King some few days before the King's first withdrawing himself, wherein he expressed very kind things of me to his Majesty. He told me he had received a letter of summons to be at the convention, but that he would not go nor act in that assembly; that he had offered to surrender the commission of his lieutenancies into the King's hands before he went, but the King would not receive them; and that he would act so long as he might do it by them, but would not take any commissions from the prince, or any such authority.

The 17th I received a letter from the Duke of Newcastle enclosing others, which he had received from my Lord Danby, Sir Henry Goodricke, and my Lord Devonshire (all flattery, lies, and pretensions of loyalty) whilst the rebellion was hatching.

January 22. I went to Mansfield, and the next day went thence for London in the hackney coach. When I arrived I found London much changed. The guards and other parts of the army, which both in their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the town, were sent to quarter ten miles off, and the streets were filled with ill-looking and ill-habited Dutch and other strangers of the prince's army; and yet the City was so pleased with their deliverers that they did not or would not perceive their deformity, nor the oppression they lay under, which was much greater than what they felt from the English army.

Though the convention had met on the 22nd, yet nothing was done considerable till the 28th, when the settlement of the nation being taken into consideration by the Commons, they passed this vote, that King James the Second, having endeavoured to pervert the government of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the King and his people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having subverted the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant.

January 29. The Lords entered into consideration of the same matter, and several motions were made to the same purpose as there were the day before in the House of Commons. Some were for recalling the King upon conditions, but those very few; others for the government to be continued in the King's name, and the prince to have the executive power of it, by the name of regent or protector; others for having the King to forfeit the crown and the Prince of Orange elected into it; others for having the said prince and princess crowned, as it was in the case of Philip and Mary, and to hold it by descent in right of Mary, without taking notice of the Prince of Wales, who was to be made incapable to succeed, because a papist, being christened in that church.

January 30. The Lords voted to agree with the Commons in the main as to the vacancy of the throne, only differing in some words, and adjourned the debate till the next day. That vote was only carried by three. The same day the Commons did pass their votes, that it was found by experience inconsistent for a Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince; secondly, that a committee be appointed to bring in general heads of such things as were absolutely necessary to be considered of for the better securing our religion, laws, and liberty. The reason of this last vote was, that, before

any person was named to fill the throne, they would frame conditions upon which only he should be accepted as King, and tie him up more strictly to the observances of them than other princes had been before.

The prince all this while seemed not much to concern himself, only desired that, the cases of Holland and of Ireland requiring it, they would dispatch and come to an early resolution.

January 31. That being the day for a thanksgiving for the Prince of Orange's arrival and, as it was worded, 'for the delivery of this nation from popery and slavery,' or to that effect, it was observed that the rejoicing was not so great either by ringing of bells or making of bonfires as was expected in the city of London, so mutable are the minds of Englishmen, that they are never long very fond of anything. That day the Lords, sitting in the afternoon, resumed the debate, and could not agree with the Commons in the word *abdicated*, as being too high a word, and changed it into *deserted*. Nor did they concur with them that the throne was absolutely vacant, so that by the vote of the Lords there yet remained room for a regent or protector, or the King to be recalled himself upon terms.

February 1. I saw my Lord Halifax. There was with him Mr. Seymour, quondam Speaker of the Commons, a man of great parts, and much for power to continue in the King's name—nay, in his person—if we could but be secured against popery. Doctor Burnet was there also (the great creature of the Prince of Orange), who argued violently for the crowning of the prince. Burnet maintained that England could never be happily settled till the prince was placed at the head of the government and was in strict conjunction with Holland. Seymour said it was not practicable, for, if the prince was King, he must maintain it by an army, and that was not to be trusted against their natural prince; for, as the

late English army would not fight for popery, so neither would they fight against their King, as was apparent by their daily deserting and quitting their commands. Nor was it possible for Holland and England to be heartily united, they both courting the same mistress, trade. My Lord Halifax told me that night that he was not privy to this design of the prince's coming at the first; but now that he was here, and upon so good an occasion, we were obliged to defend him. I acquainted him with what I heard, that my Lord Danby expected preference before him in the prince's favour. He gave me some reasons which satisfied me to the contrary, and that his lordship began to lag in his zeal for the prince's interest in the House of Lords. One was, that he was never to hope to be Lord Treasurer, the prince having declared he would manage it by commissioners. My Lord Halifax spoke further that himself should be employed, and used some arguments to me to prove the legality of accepting to be so. One was, that the King having relinquished the government, it was not for that to be let fall, and it could not be supported if men did not act under those on whom it was conferred, and that as things stood now *salus populi* was *suprema lex.* His lordship said further that there were so many declined to serve, and there were so few fit for it, that, if I would do it, there would no question be room for me; and that, after things were settled, he thought it advisable for me to go ambassador to some prince or state, by which means I might be out of the way till the clouds that appeared were dispersed, being so fit for that kind of employment. He said other kind things to me, and offered to carry me next morning to the prince, whom I had not seen, and gave me some advice to be careful of my company and how to manage myself at such a time as this was.

February 2. I went to meet the marquis, who was with the prince in his bed-chamber; but coming out to

me, he said the prince could not be publicly seen of two hours, and therefore advised me to defer the waiting upon him till the next day. This day the lords that were for conferring the crown immediately upon the prince—fearing the contrary interest of making him only regent, or crowning him in right of his wife, might prevail—sent some instruments to stir up the Mobile, who came in a tumultuous manner with a petition, offering it both to the Lords and Commons, to this purpose: to crown both the Prince and Princess of Orange, to take speedy care of religion and property, and for the defence of Ireland. The Lords rejected it because it was not signed, and the Commons did the same, saying they would not be awed into their votes nor directed, for they ought to be free. The same day the King sent two letters, one to the Lords, the other to the Commons; but the person that brought them not being there present to testify that they came from the King, they were not read, but laid by, and the messenger was ordered to attend the Lords' House on Monday morning. I was then told by a Court lady that it was much wondered that my friend, the Marquis of Halifax, was so much for the King's having abdicated the government, when he knew he had not gone if he had not been frightened into it. She told me that his lordship had treated with the King to come again into business some weeks before the certainty of the prince's invasion was known; that she was the very person sent by him to the King, that the King met him in her House, and that they agreed upon terms—nay, that his lordship treated with some priests concerning his return to Court; that for this reason the King depended most on him, and named him one of the three lords to be sent to the Prince of Orange to treat for him; that the marquis sent the King a private letter, after he had spoken to the prince, threatening some ill design against his person, which was the true reason of his Majesty's flight and of sending

away the Queen; and after the King was brought back, that my Lord Halifax was one of the lords that came and advertised him, on behalf of the prince, to go from Whitehall to Rochester or Ham, in two hours; and that the reason his lordship gave for bringing so ungrateful a message was, that he was assured that the prince's party had resolved in council to seize and imprison him. So that it was obvious to my lord's own knowledge that it was neither the King's inclination to fly either the first or the second time, but self-preservation. She told me further that the King was so fully possessed of his danger, and afflicted after the Princess Anne went away, that it disordered his understanding the first time, but after he returned was very well restored. She said further that the second time he went away he so little designed it that he knew not where to go. Sometimes he resolved to go into the North to the Earl of Danby; once he thought to go to the bishops of Canterbury or Winchester, and that she was sent by the King to them to know if they would receive and secure him, and that the two bishops neither accepted nor rejected the offer. She told me, moreover, that the Lords intended to make use of the marquis for the prince's service, but not for any advantage to his lordship; and that he, having been the first adviser of taking away the charters of corporations, when the government was once settled he was in danger to be called to account for that and other things, having great enemies of the party to which he adhered. At last she desired me to contrive it so, if possible, that she might speak to his lordship, to the end she might so far moderate him as, however, to be for a regency, and not a forfeiture or abdication of the crown. I told her I would endeavour it, but I found his lordship too far engaged with that party to recede. The same lady told me that a great lord of Scotland had told her, some few days before, that in case the two Houses agreed to make the government

vacant, Scotland would choose for itself and be no longer a province to England, or dance attendance at the door of an English court.

All that the Lords voted or did more that day was to order the 6th of February, usually kept as an anniversary of the King's coming to the crown, not to be observed, and to send down their votes to the Commons concerning the abdication, with its alterations, which the Commons having considered, they voted to adhere to their own resolution *totidem verbis*.

February 3. I saw the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Burlington, the Earl of Scarsdale, and some other lords who had all been active to bring in the prince, speak in another strain. Some said the thing was gone further than they expected, others that they never believed the prince would contend for the crown; and all were of opinion the crown ought to be set upon the princess's head, and so to descend in its right course. The Earl of Scarsdale told me the Princess of Denmark was very sensible what a mistake she had committed in leaving her father to join the prince, who was now endeavouring to invade her right, and to get priority of succession before her.

February 4. The reasons being sent down from the Lords to the Commons for adhering to their word *deserting*, and that there was no vacancy, it came to a division of the House, 183 for agreeing with the Lords, 251 against it.

February 5. A free conference was held between the two Houses, the issue of which was, the next day, upon considering the reasons of the Commons, it being put to the vote in the House of Lords, whether or no they should agree with the Commons, it was carried in the affirmative. The vacancy being thus agreed to, the Lords proceeded to consider how the throne ought to be filled, and voted that the Prince and Princess of Orange

should be crowned King and Queen of England by the names of King William and Queen Mary. The Commons went further and voted not only that, but that all sanction of the laws, or the negative voice, should be in the King singly, and not in the Queen, it being improper to have two negatives, in case of disagreements in their opinions; that the succession of the crown should be to them and to the longer liver of them, then to their issue, and, for want thereof, to Princess Anne and her issue, and next the issue of the Prince of Orange in case he had any by another wife, and so to the right line, papists excepted.

February 8. The Commons finished certain grievances or usurpations (as they called them) upon the rights of the people by the Crown, which they sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, and which they intended to lay before the prince, and to desire remedy in, at the same time they offered him the crown of England with its dependencies.

February 9. The Marquis of Halifax desired me to bring the lady to my house, where he gave her a meeting and had a conversation with her for two hours, in which, she told me afterwards, she dealt so freely with him as to tell him that she wondered he, of all men, could consent to the King's abdicating the government, when he knew it was from the notice himself gave him that, by what was resolved in council by the prince and others at Windsor, if he stayed he was in danger of his life; that for this notice the King had owed his life to him now, as he had his escaping being excluded before. My lord replied that the King had dealt ill with him in sending him with a message to the prince, and going away before he returned. She said he should not say so to her, who knew that his lordship sent him away, and then was angry that he went. The lord complained to her that the King never sent for him till the prince was landed. She said his lordship knew that herself was

privy to his being often invited to Court, and that he might have had his own terms long before, but held off; but, though he had now embarked so deep in another interest, it became him to be aware, for the Earl of Danby would certainly get before him and play the same part with him in this Court that Lord Sunderland had acted in the other; that all that was doing was upon sandy foundations. Scotland would now choose a king of their own; Ireland was probably lost, the Lord Deputy Tyrconnel having an army of 40,000 men, and England was much divided; and she said a great deal more to the same effect. His lordship said there were no great hopes of a lasting peace from this settlement. However, it was the best that could be made at this time of the day; that he knew what interest she had with the King, and in case anything happened, desired she would be his friend, as he would be hers in another place. The truth is, she dealt more bold than any other could venture to do with so great a man; but his lordship knew her, and was prepared for it before, for he told me it was not amiss to hear what everybody had to say.

There were truly great discontents at this day, and the causes of them were these:—The prince declared that he had no design for the crown, and yet sought it all he could. He came to settle the Protestant religion, and yet brought over 4,000 papists in his army, which were near as many as the King had English of that religion in his. It was published that the birth of the Prince of Wales was false or supposititious; that there was a private treaty with France to invade and enslave England; that the murders of the late King and of the Earl of Essex would all be made out; and yet nothing appeared, only some little matter as to that of the Earl of Essex. The prince kept his Dutch forces in London, and sent the English army to remote quarters, declaring that he would keep his own men here, and send the English into Hol-

land and Ireland. The Princess Anne was postponed in the succession, several noblemen disappointed of expected preferments for coming in to him, because they voted not for his highness so readily as he expected. The letters his Majesty wrote to both Houses were not so much as opened or read, and trade (the Dutch being a frugal people) much abated in London from what it was in the King's time.

February 11. Both Houses having agreed at several conferences on their grievances or invasions (as they called them) upon the liberties of the people by former kings, now expected to be redressed, and the Princess of Orange being safe arrived from Holland, the day after, which happened to be upon Shrove Tuesday, both Houses in a body went to attend their highnesses, seated in two chairs of state in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; where the Lords' Speaker, after having read their said grievances, and desired redress of them, desired them also to accept of the crowns of England, France, and Ireland, with the dependencies and dominions thereto belonging. The prince, after a short speech, wherein he told them that he did accept of the same, and would do what he could to preserve their liberties, went away with the princess; and the heralds and several of the nobility proceeded to proclaim them King and Queen through the City according to the usual forms, the rest of the day being spent in ringing of bells, bonfires at night, and other expressions of joy, though a great many looked sadly upon it.

Some of the chief things which the conventioners declared illegal and desired redress for the future at this time were as follows: suspension of laws, or their execution by the King, without consent of Parliament; dispensing with laws or the execution of laws as aforesaid; the court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes; the raising of money by prerogative without Parliaments; the keeping a standing army in time of peace, without con-

sent of Parliament, obstructing the free choice of members for Parliament, or freedom of speech in Parliament; imposing excessive bail, or fines upon the subjects; the illegal choice of jurors.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were then desired by the Houses to be suppressed, and these two were framed to be taken in their stead. The first was this:—

'I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.' For the second thus:—

'I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered, by their subjects or any other whatsoever; and I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate or state hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, within this realm. So help me God.'

The days following—the two Houses adjourning for some days—were spent in the new King's receiving the congratulations of his subjects, which came in such crowds as are unspeakable, and in naming and swearing a new privy council consisting of thirty-two persons, twenty-four Lords and eight Commoners. The King, with the advice of his council, proceeded to name first the great officers of the Court and kingdom. The great expectation was who would have the preference, Halifax or Danby. The latter expected to be Lord Treasurer; but as Lord Halifax told me, he was disappointed, and forced to take up with President of the Council, a place of credit, but of small profit. My Lord Halifax was Lord Privy Seal of his own choice, and where he had been before, of

great trust and worth 3,000*l.* per annum. My Lord Halifax told me, before this was published, that Danby was down in the mouth, and would now let his neighbours be quiet about him; and for his own part, as they yet stood seemingly fair, he would give him no just occasion of difference.

The King being thus made, the next business was to get a Parliament, especially such a one as would confirm what the convention had done; and because a new choice of members might prove hazardous in that respect, or as it was pretended, might lose time, when the settlement of the nation required haste, they agreed, after great disputes as to the legality of it amongst the lawyers, and long debates in both Houses, to convert this convention into a Parliament. This they did by framing a bill to that purpose in the House of Lords, first passing it there, then in the House of Commons, and at the last getting the royal assent to it, which was easily compassed upon the 23rd of February.

A Parliament being thus obtained, though after a very extraordinary manner, they first proceeded to prepare several bills, one for comprehension, another for the toleration of Protestant dissenters. This was first moved by my Lord Nottingham in the House of Lords and seconded by some of the bishops (more out of fear than love); another for raising forty-two thousand pounds by a tax upon land.

February 28. My lord of Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton—who had been set upon in Leicester fields a little before by eight ruffians, and who had moved, in a meeting of the Scotch nobility in London, to call back King James—was committed to the Tower; and many of that nobility that were going to the convention in Scotland (appointed to meet the 24th of March) were stopped. The same day I dined with the Earl of Danby, who treated me with more intimacy and freedom than I expected.

He told me that he had given a very fair character of me to the King, when he made him the relation of taking York; but I found him extremely altered in his warmth for affairs, as then managed. He said that being concerned with his all, he was sorry to see things managed no better, and with no more expedition. Ireland was in a manner become invincible, by neglect of not sending forces thither before now, which he had pressed the King to so much, as well as to other things which were slighted; that he was uncivil in pressing it; that he had told his present Majesty that he saw he did all things to encourage Presbytery and to dishearten the Church of England, and that he would absolutely prejudice himself and the Government by it; but at present he (Danby) meddled very little in councils, neither his desires nor health disposing him to it. Indeed, he looked so ill, and the stoppage in swallowing wherewith he was troubled was so great upon him, that he seemed to me not able to continue long. He told me he was made President of the Council against his will, after the King had acquainted him that he could not give him the staff of Lord Treasurer, being resolved to put that office into commission; that he was offered to be Secretary of State and President both, and he had declined the first; that all he had asked of the King for himself was a patent to which he had a right by a former grant, and that he would gratify some gentlemen who had served him in this revolution in the north; and that the King told him it would not be for his own service that his lordship should decline employment himself, and in a manner forced the presidentship upon him. He spoke very doubtfully of the continuance of the present state of affairs; and told me King James sent down to him in the north to offer to put himself into his hands before he went away. That his answer was, by Mr. Charles Bertie, who came from the King, that his own force, which he depended upon in the north, was not sufficient to trust to;

but if his Majesty would bring a considerable party with him, and come without the papists, he would sooner lose his life than his Majesty should be injured; but that the King had no mind to divide himself from the papists, and would not come. One thing my Lord President said further, that if the King would quit his papists it might possibly not be too late yet for him. He told me the Duke of Gordon, a papist and governor of Edinburgh Castle, the only magazine of Scotland, who was williug lately to surrender it to anybody, kept it now resolutely for King James; and the discontents of England grew daily greater and greater. He said Lord Halifax, the King, and all his councils, were strangely conceited for all this of their security, and told me some things of my Lord Halifax and his interferings in their debates in the House of Lords, especially in that wherein, upon declaring the Prince of Orange King, my Lord Halifax insisted violently that he might be entitled legal and rightful King of this realm, the intent of which was, I presume, that the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be continued, to avoid scruples about the taking the new ones; but that it was nonsense, for had the Prince of Wales been made king, he could not have been our lawful king whilst his father lived, because in hereditary monarchies *non est hæres viventis*. He seemed, however, very earnest for the legality of taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and condemned the bishops who now scrupled at it, when their actings in some things and their indifference in others had so far contributed to this change of government. He quoted my lord of Nottingham's speech in the House of Lords, where he said that he had not consented in the least to this change, but had opposed the prince's accession to the crown, not believing it legal; but that since he was there, and that he must now owe and expect his protection from us as King *de facto*, he thought it just and lawful to swear allegiance to him. I have

been the more particular in this entertainment, to show how the opinion of the greatest men stood as to matters at that time. I wondered he durst trust me so far as to be so open before me; but he knew I would not betray him, not so much as to my Lord Halifax.

The same day, after many attempts, my Lord Halifax, or Lord Privy Seal, presented me to the King. He had moved him before that a young son of mine might have my company, and that he might be excused from duty a year or two for his education; but his Majesty thought that an ill precedent, and would not grant it. Having kissed his hand, I told him that I had a trust upon me from the late King to the last, not being made privy to his Majesty's designs till I saw them in execution, and that I could not then, in honour or justice, comply with them; but that I was a firm Protestant, and had suffered in my estate for being of that religion; and that I should be faithful to my duty wherever I served. My lord desired him that I might continue my company without any attendance, which I seconded, saying: 'Sir, if you have resolved to take away my two governments of York and Burlington, I hope you will not expect I should wait on a single company.' He said, 'No, he did not expect any attendance from me.'

The truth is I had made no endeavour to keep the government of York. I did then not think it safe or honest. But for the company I thought it both to keep it, not being obliged to act personally with it, and having a good excuse to lay it down at any time, if it should be enjoined. Besides it entitled me to the recovery of some arrears which I feared to lose, had I given up my commission at that time. Although they began to be very scrupulous in keeping in any but those who had either good principles or good friends, I found most wise men willing to stay in, and as much to prevent others coming in their steads as for any other reason.

March 1. I was told by a lady who was entrusted by King James with some seals and jewels, that the King had written to her to put them into the hands of a person whom he had sent for them; and showing me his letter, I found it was dated the 17th of February *stilo novo*, as also that he therein expressed his setting forward for Ireland the day following, and that he depended upon his old friends to stand by him. She told me further that the King of France had furnished him with a great treasure and 6,000 Swiss Protestants; that he intended to go through Ireland for Scotland, to call a Parliament there, instead of the intended convention; to march for England, and to put himself entirely into the hands of a Protestant interest; that she had a friendship for my Lord Privy Seal, and had a mind to open herself to him if she might do it safely. I promised to speak to his lordship that night, and to tell her more afterwards.

Having an opportunity, I was as good as my word. I confess I was cautious of speaking too broad, but I said enough to let him understand that the chief motive the lady had to speak to him was to inform him of something that might be for his own as well as the public service. Upon this he began to be freer with me than usual upon this chapter; and when I told him, in general, that great designs were on foot, he said he believed it; and that though men were in the present interest, it was not discretion to venture too far; that if things were as I said, it was safe to carry fair to those of that party, and to let some know that he spoke always very respectfully of King James, for it might come to blows. He should be glad to meet the lady at my house when she pleased. He said, however, all the care that could be taken would be to prevent it. An army would presently be raised of 20,000 men. All suspicious persons would be secured, for the Parliament would give the King power to imprison whom he pleased, and to keep them secure till they could come to

nd that they would plentifully furnish him for the
At this time several gentlemen and lords of both
withdrew themselves into their several counties;
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he little suspected. He said that if King James was
such a design, he believed the papists would assas-
or kill King William, knowing what a tax they
ld have on their hands to defend the crown upon a
man's head.

March 3. I waited upon my Lord Bellasis, chief missioner of the Treasury under the late King James. told me that he had been very averse (though a pist) to the measures used in that reign for promoting that religion, as the putting of papists into office in counties and corporations, the high commission court, the laying aside Protestants for refusing to take away the test and penal laws, &c.; but his council was suspected as coming from a man who, as the hot party informed the King, was old and timorous, and who having a good estate was in fear to hazard it. He told me as to myself that he understood from all hands I had acquitted myself of my trust as governor of York like a man of honour, and that my lord of Danby himself, though my adversary, had confessed as much to him, and that I had not in this particular deceived the late king's opinion of me, who used to say that he received always the most faithful and best informations of affairs in those parts by my letters. He said that there being so many great men concerned in this revolt, it was almost impossible to be thought that the king, especially being a Roman Catholic, should be restored; but if he were Protestant, it would certainly happen in a very short time. He was esteemed one of the wisest men of that party.

March 4. Five bishops more took the oaths of

allegiance and supremacy, in addition to the three that had taken them on the 2nd of March, being the day appointed for swearing the members of both Houses. Most, if not all the Commons, did swear; but some of the Lords refused so to do, and the greater number of the bishops, from the principle that they thought it unlawful, having before taken the oaths to King James. And those that swore looked upon it as a local and temporary oath, and only owing to the present protection they received from King William and Queen Mary. This day my Lord Halifax met the lady before named, who had a letter from King James. She dealt very frankly with his lordship, but durst not say all she knew. However, he desired her, in case of any alteration, to stand his friend.

The two houses had voted some days before to stand by King William and Queen Mary with their lives and fortunes; and now the Commons finished their bill of laying a land tax, and consulted of other ways to raise money for the Crown, both for raising of men and supplying the loss of that branch of the revenue called hearth-money, which they were taking quite away by Act of Parliament, as troublesome to collect and oppressive. It was now more feared that King James was actually in Ireland, and that Scotland would take his part. Commissions were given out for the raising 10,000 foot, and twenty shillings for every man as levy money. The colonels were mostly men of quality and interest, and yet it was much feared whether men could be raised. The French King had assisted King James for his Irish expedition with fourteen ships of war, six less frigates, and three fire ships, well manned and provided; 200,000*l.* in ready money, and 50,000 pistoles as a present for his pocket; with plate, tents, and a very loyal and splendid equipage. He furnished him with eight experienced field officers, one hundred other officers, a guard of one hundred Swiss, several knowing pioneers, 15,000 of his

own subjects, 40,000 arms, cannon and ammunition in great abundance; and offered him 15,000 more French soldiers; but King James refused them, saying he would succeed by his own subjects or perish in the attempt.

March 7. My Lord Halifax told me the Commons resolved still to pursue him and my Lord Danby, and that some of them had declared they would give no money to the King till he had laid them and some other of his present officers aside; but he said the King would not be wrought upon as they thought of, and that he was very able to defend himself. The crimes of which he was accused were, advising King Charles II. to take away the charter of London, and opposing the bill of exclusion. I told my lord it looked very foolish for men that were about building a few fabric at the same time to pull down the main pillar that supported it. His lordship said he did not value it, for if they succeeded he should not be sorry to surrender his place. He prayed me then to reconcile him to the lady that I had formerly brought to him about some business in which she thought herself not well used; for she had a good interest with King James.

March 10. Colonel Reresby, leading the battalion of guards from Oxford in order to their embarking for Holland, most of them (being 400 and odd) deserted, and it was told the King that it was done by the colonel's advice, so that the general sent to confine him to his house. The truth is, my brother had been twenty years in the regiment, had been in four sea engagements in the last Dutch war; and one year against the French in Flanders, and upon the hardest duties of any captains in the regiment, and had a mind to lay down rather than be now sent to Holland, having the gout, &c., very much; but he never encouraged the men to desert. I acquainted the Lord Privy Seal with the truth of the thing, and my lord promised to the King on his behalf; but so many

left the King's service daily, that it seemed a hard thing to get this pardon.

March 12. My lord marquis told me that my Lord Mordaunt and others were violent against him, being disappointed of their expectations at Court, caused as they suspected by my lord marquis's means, in that he had brought in my Lord Nottingham to Court, made him Secretary of State, and some others whom indeed the King, as well as himself, had a mind should be in business, being eminent in parts. My Lord Godolphin was another he named; and it was these chiefly that followed and persuaded his impeachment; but he said the King was so much his friend that he was too eager on his lordship's behalf, insomuch as he was forced to desire him to be more moderate.

I had news from Thrybergh that my youngest son Leonard was recovered of the small-pox, for which I praised God.

March 13. I heard my Lord Privy Seal say, that as the nation now stood, if the King (James) were a Protestant, he could not be kept out four months; but my Lord Danby went further, for he said that if he would give the satisfactions in point of religion, which he might, it would be hard to resist him as he was. I thought these things looked strangely (falling from so great men) of the times. I heard the 17th that my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, which he had not long since brought out of France, quartered now at Ipswich, being all Scotch and consisting of 1,300 men, chose rather to march in a body with their arms and four pieces of cannon towards Scotland, than to obey orders, which were to go on board and sail for Holland. My Lord Privy Seal did me the honour to visit me for an hour. He told me the King had sent after them two regiments of Dutch horse and one of dragoons; and that if these men did this of themselves without confederacy, they were lost; but if it was laid so as

other forces were to stir in other places, there might be danger in it. I found he was jealous that my Lord Danby did, under pretence of illness, more absent himself from business than reason required; and that he was discontented, and was wondering that some had got into places by his means who were so little qualified for them, particularly my Lord Willoughby, a very young man, unused to business, made Chancellor of the Exchequer. I told him it was no less wonder that my Lord Mordaunt, who never saw a hundred pounds together of his own money, should pretend to be the First Commissioner of the Treasury. I then dealt very freely with my lord as to the uncertainty of the times, desired him to act with caution, and assured him that I wished his safety and his family's as much as my own.

His lordship said he had named my brother's concern to the King; but Prince George being present, who took part against him, hindered the good success at that time; since then he had received a state of the matter from my brother (which I had drawn up for him), and had given it to the secretary, the Earl of Nottingham, to lay before the King. He said he wished that it did me no prejudice in the King's good opinion. I said that would be hard that I should answer for the actions of a brother, but he said he should be able to clear that. I was glad to hear that the Duke of Grafton and the slender part of his regiment which remained was disbanded. I heard also that no less than seventy officers had laid down their commissions in four days' time.

My Lord Privy Seal, amongst other things, said that this King used no arts. I replied some arts were necessary in our English Government. He said he was of the same opinion, and that we acted a little too plainly. I acquainted my lord with some grounds of discontent, much murmured at in the town and some in the country. My lord said, 'Come, Sir John, we have wives and

children, and we must consider them, and not venture too far.' He spoke further, as if, whenever a change happened, there would be a general pardon; though he said he heard there was one from King James that crept up and down in the world, and that he was excepted in it; 'but (said his lordship), as you know, I gave you some little hints of this change before you went down last (which were so obscure that I did not observe them), so you must tell me what you hear on the other side.' And indeed I loved him so well that I was ready enough to inform him of what related to the public for his private service, provided it was said in general, and not to the prejudice of any particular person, or a confidence reposed in me.

March 22. My Lord Privy Seal told me that the rebels (meaning the Scotch regiment) had yielded themselves to the King's mercy. Their officers would have had them to have fought, though the Dutch horse and dragoons were four times their number; but the common soldiers laid down their arms. His lordship further added that there was a confederacy in that revolt, but the parties durst not venture to appear. He told me more that they had now great hopes of Scotland, and it did after appear that the kirk party, which was for King William, was the more prevalent.

The truth is, King James lost his business by not appearing sooner in Ireland, or rather in Scotland; but the winds were so contrary that he could not set out sooner from Brest. The Church of England was much laid at by some members of both Houses of Parliament, at this time King William seeming to favour Calvinism. For in the Lords' House it was strongly debated (and particularly by the Lord Privy Seal, which lost him some credit) that the taking of the sacrament should be no part of the test, according to the statute of King Charles II.; and in the House of Commons it was as stiffly argued, in the debate of forming the coronation oath, that that part of

it which binds the King to maintain the Church of England as by law established should be omitted; but in both these it was carried in the affirmative in favour of the Church of England. This showed the strength of that interest in Parliament; and would, as 'twas believed, oblige his Majesty to be more favourable to the Church of England.

All the affairs of Europe seemed now at some stand, though all nations were also preparing for war. The whole Empire was calling its respective quotas together to be employed against France and the Turks, in case the treaty then on foot between the Emperor and the Turks should break off, which was not unlikely, he and the confederates, viz., the Venetians and the Poles, insisting upon very severe conditions. Spain was likely to join with the Emperor against France, as also Sweden; Holland, England, and Denmark to stand mutes. The Pope continued angry with France at the same time, though France endeavoured to mollify him, pretending to make it a war of religion; but his Holiness, thinking the French King grown too big for his neighbours, had some regard to his temporal estate as well as to the Church of which he was the head, and considered interest as well as conscience—a known principle in the Church of Rome.

March 26. That day the Bishop of St. David's, meeting me, asked my opinion if he should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, he being one of the bishops that had refused them all this time, and being now cited to appear before the Lords. I told him it were fitter for his lordship to advise me in such a case, and certainly his conscience was the best guide in the matter. But I found that he had resolved before what to do, and the next day he went and swore in the House of Lords. My lord Archbishop of Canterbury all this while refused to swear or to come at all to the House of Lords, not so much as owning the authority either of King or the

Parliament. The Lords sent his grace a letter to come to the House, and he returned his answer excusing his attendance, directed not to the Lord Privy Seal or Speaker of the Lords, but only to the lord Marquis of Halifax. The House voted his answer not satisfactory; however, they thought it not advisable to pursue him too far, knowing what ill blood the imprisonment of the bishops had lately made in the body of the nation.

March 28. The Church of England party carried a second vote in favour of that Church; and it was high time to show themselves, the dissenters not only having prevailed that the oaths in some respects made for the security of that Church, some prayer in the liturgy, and the ceremonies should be altered or dispensed with; but also it was moved in the House of Commons that there might be some alteration in the very creed.

The same day my Lord Halifax and my Lord Nottingham moved the King in council that I might have the keeping of the manor of York. But by the underhand dealing of my Lord Danby, who had certainly pressed him in it for Alderman Waller, late Lord Mayor of York, I received a flat denial, and with this reason of unkindness, as my Lord Privy Seal told me, that the alderman had done something for the service of the present government, but Sir John Reresby had done nothing.

March 29. Being Good Friday, I received the sacrament with my second son Tamworth—who was then of years, to be therefore confirmed in the Church—at the new church of St. James in Jermyn Street. I received the same day the news of George, my third son, being ill of the small-pox, which gave me great apprehension, he being fatter than the rest of my children.

Some days following there were very warm debates in both Houses of Parliament between the dissenters and those of the Church of England, the first endeavouring to carry their Act of comprehension and toleration farther

than the Church of England was willing to agree to, and the parties seemed so equal in number that sometimes one side carried a vote in both Houses, and sometimes the other.

April 1. It was ordered that seventeen regiments—and many of them unarmed, unclothed, and without sufficient pay to clear their quarters—should march northwards, it being now certainly confirmed that King James was in Ireland, and intended for Scotland, though the kirk party in the Scotch convention seemed to oppose his coming into that kingdom. And for all money was very scarce at Court, yet great preparations were daily making for the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, though there wanted necessaries for the army, the Court and support of the Government; not but the Parliament was ready to give, but it could not be raised soon enough for the uses to which it was given, and the City refused to give credit or to advance money upon the money Acts that were passed. Great discontents still continued, or rather daily improved.

April 5. I received the unfortunate news of the death of my son George by the small-pox—a very beautiful, apt, understanding child. It was a great affliction to me; but God gives, and God takes, and blessed be the name of the Lord.

April 7. My Lord Privy Seal told me if the Church of England suffered, it was by their pretending to have too much; that the Commons acted very slowly, and as if the whole world was no more than Westminster; that the King was very dilatory too in his resolutions, which was a great prejudice to business at a time when it so much required despatch. He said there was a necessity of acting with so many fools; that they only were wise who had nothing to do; and further that he heard some Irish were landed in Scotland, but that nation would receive them very coolly; that nothing was to be apprehended here on James's account, but from the army which

would be disposed of abroad, and others raised at home or sent for from Holland; that if he came not very soon he would be disappointed of that hope. He further concurred with me in one thing, which was, that the Earl of Danby had got the government of Hull as a place of retreat, and whereby to make his terms, should there be any change of times. He told me besides that he feared more the danger of King William's cough, which increased upon him, than any other. I confess I did a little temporise in these things, it not being convenient to be too open with a privy councillor, and so great a minister especially, having used a freedom of that kind before with his lordship to no purpose, and having a little pretension at that time in which I wanted his lordship's assistance. However, whenever he asked me my opinion, I dealt truly with him.

April 11 was the day of the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, performed with great splendour according to the usual ceremonies. The procession to the Abbey of Westminster was very regular, but not attended by so many of the nobility as when the two last kings were crowned. The House of Commons were taken great care of in this solemnity, had a side of Westminster Hall prepared for them to see it, another place in the Abbey to see their Majesties crowned, and several tables prepared and covered with all sorts of meat, where they dined by themselves. Only some friends were admitted amongst them, and I amongst others, which gave me a good opportunity to see and observe all. The Bishop of London crowned the King and Queen, assisted by the Bishop of Salisbury (the late Doctor Burnet), who preached the coronation sermon, and by two others.

April 14, which was my birthday, I humbly thanked God for preserving me through so many dangers till the 55th year of my age, and begged of Him to lead the remainder of my life better than I had hitherto done. That day I was with the Lord Privy Seal, where the

Bishop of Salisbury coming in, arraigned the slowness of the House of Commons in their proceedings, and said the Dutch would agree with France if they did not mend their pace. He laid the fault chiefly on the Church of England party, and spoke as if they designed the advantage of King James and his service by it. My Lord Privy Seal agreed with him therein, said they hated the Dutch, and had rather turn papists than take in the Presbyterians amongst them; that the Presbyterians hated the Church of England men as much, and spoilt their own business by the ill preparing of their bill of comprehension and the untimely offering of other bills and matters in both Houses to disoblige those from whom they expected this indulgence. They were both angry at the address made to the King by the Commons the day before, that he would support and defend the Church of England according to his former declaration, and that he would please to call a convocation of the clergy, which latter they said would ruin the design of comprehension. In fine, the marquis said that the government would be very shortlived, at this rate.

King James continued all this while in Ireland, the kirk party in Scotland continuing to oppose him in the convention, they having declared the throne vacant of that kingdom. Soon after came the news that they had voted King William and Queen Mary King and Queen of Scotland, that they had turned the name of convention into that of a Parliament, had invited the English forces that were upon the borders into that kingdom, to be ready to assist them in any attempt of King James or his friends; but had prepared several conditions or grievances for the King to pass, one of which was, that episcopacy should be no longer established in Scotland, and that the King thereof should be of the Presbyterian religion. The castle of Edinburgh, commanded by the Duke of Gordon, held out still.

At home the Parliament voted a poll and other money to be raised. The Commons made an address to the King to declare war against France, and promised to stand by him in a parliamentary way. Great heats happened between the two Houses concerning the bill for taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, the Lords being willing to excuse the bishops, because they knew that several of them would lose their bishoprics rather than take them, and the Commons urging that all persons should take them without distinction. There passed both Houses the bill of toleration for all Protestant dissenters.

April 21. The King gave a favourable answer to the address for supporting the Church of England, and for calling a convocation.

April 25. The King gave an answer to the Commons' address to him for making war with France, wherein he told them that he complied with their request, since the King of France had begun the war, in a manner, himself; and whatever money they gave should certainly be laid out to that end.

April 26. Desiring my Lord Halifax to do a kindness for me to the King, he told me that he was informed that I had discouraged my lieutenant to serve King William, and that I was therefore looked upon as disaffected. 'It is true,' said he, 'you and I speak our thoughts freely one to another, but I know you are too wise to open yourself (should you have such thoughts) to such people.' I replied that, though I was guilty of follies, yet his lordship had seldom found me in so gross ones as that; and it would be very unfit doctrine for me to preach to another, who acted contrary to it myself, and kept my employment. 'But,' said I, 'if your lordship have a mind to believe it, that you may think me unfit for that which I ask of you to do for me, I have no more to do but to acquiesce.' He told me no; I knew how willing he was to serve me, and he had only told me

this in friendship; that he would find out whence it came, and gave some hints, as if he suspected that it came from the lord of Danby (lately made Marquis of Carmarthen, amongst many others then promoted to new honours). I said, whoever said it, that it was false. 'But,' said I, 'if your lordship please, you may give a speedy remedy to such aspersions as these; if your lordship would tell the King that it is not possible for men that have had so considerable a post as I had under the late government to live without some back friends; but your lordship knew me so well that you would undertake for me and my behaviour. I am sure it would wipe away all jealousies.' In fine, he told me he was very willing to do it, and to see if he could get the King's promise in what I desired. The truth is, I found it very hard for one that did not heartily and early come into the present government to live either in town or country without censure, and found it advisable to accept of what my Lord Privy Seal had offered to me at my first coming to town (if it could be obtained), which was to be sent envoy to some foreign prince, and this was that which I had desired his lordship to effect for me. He promised to get me a general promise, if possible, to go to some place, but the government was as yet so little owned abroad, that there was not much room for that kind of service for the present. This delay pleased me more (provided I had but a promise) than a more speedy despatch. I had time by it to see how things framed before I embarked in any sort of business (though this was the most innocent), and the expectation of it gave me a protection from being looked upon as an enemy to the government. His lordship dissuaded me also then from going down as yet, it being dangerous till the King was satisfied concerning me, especially now when the North was looked upon as the nest of the malcontents, and gave me some other reasons to stay a little longer. I said, whatever happened, I

could not stay long from my family and business, and therefore desired him to speak for me as soon as he could. He bade me come and dine with him the next day, which I did. We then talked this matter over again, and much to the same effect.

A sad accident happened at this time, which gave great occasion of discourse. One Temple (only son to Sir William Temple, a gentleman of 2,000*l.* a year) having married a French lady with 20,000 pistoles, a very accomplished and sober young man, and lately made Secretary of War (which was a great place) by King William, took a pair of oars, and when he came near the bridge upon the Thames leaped into the river and drowned himself, leaving a note in the boat to this purpose: 'My folly in undertaking what I could not perform, whereby some disadvantages have accrued to the King, is the cause of this. I wish him success in his undertakings, and that he may have a better servant.' It is a dangerous thing for some constitutions to give themselves over too much to melancholy or discontent. God keep us from the sad effects of it!

April 27. I dined with the Earl of Ailesbury, who was a true subject to King James, and when at his request I had given him an account of the manner how York was surprised, he told me that he was present a little before the King went away, when one told him (but who it was he had forgot) that it was believed that I was acquainted with the conspiracy, and suffered myself willingly to be confined, but that the King did not seem to give ear to it. I told his lordship if that had been so I had been restored to my government before now; and as the knave who said it could not know me, so the King knew me too well to believe it.

The Parliament went on in raising of money, and upon terms and persons that were much disobliged. There was a very strict poll, whereby almost nobody

escaped paying more or less save such as received alms, and the computation consented to in the House was no less than four millions for one year: the pay of the army for that time 1,700,000*l.*, the fleet 1,300,000*l.*, for the charge of the court or household 600,000*l.*, and the debt to Holland 6,000*l.*

May 5. The Marquis of Halifax told me that the Marquis of Carmarthen's going into the country, pretending to be sick, and seldom coming to Council, gave new jealousies of him; that he heard he had said that things could not continue thus; that his relations and friends spoke dangerously and himself very openly; that he found the new marquis would not be inward with him or be his friend; that he still looked upon him as the cause that he had not the Lord Treasurer's staff, though he did not altogether deserve it. For of all men the King would never have put him into that office, nor, indeed, into any other very considerable at this time, as he would find if things continued fair till September. I heard some things, which I told my Lord Privy Seal, which gave ground to suspect my Lord President was discontented. As to himself, his lordship told me he found the King very fair towards him personally, and he had it from third hands that his expressions were kind of him behind his back; for he gave him few troubles either upon his own or other peoples' account, and the Lord President was constantly importuning him. I took upon that the confidence to say that I did not know what that lord lost with the King by it, but he gained much upon others; for it was generally said that no lord made it his business to do good offices for his countrymen but my Lord President (for indeed I had found my Lord Privy Seal, though thus very free with me, something slow in interesting himself so far for me as I expected). His lordship told me further that the King's inaccessibleness and living so at Hampton Court altogether, and at so active a time, ruined all busi-

ness. That he had desired him to lie sometimes in town, and his answer was that it was not to be done except he desired to see him dead; which, said my lord, was a very short answer. But this entertainment ended in this, that it was his lordship's opinion that if the King overlived this summer, which he thought he might, notwithstanding his consumptive distemper, if he were not killed by the papists, the government would scarce be shaken, though it should devolve upon the Queen singly. He said, however, the concern of his family should make him act with as much moderation as was possible, and therefore he took no great nor additional places, no honours, or blue ribbons, as others had done.

The next day I was to go to Hampton Court to meet his lordship, to present me to the King before I went into the country; and he repeated his promises of doing for me what he could, but said it was discretion to let two or three months pass before I pressed the thing too much, to see what became of things.[1]

[1] With these words are the Memoirs abruptly terminated. Death seized the writer of them somewhat suddenly soon after they were written, for the inscription on Reresby's monument in Thrybergh church states that he died on the 12th May, 1689. A few words may be added about the fate of his descendants. William, the eldest son, who succeeded to his father's title and estates, ruined the family by the most profligate extravagance. Thoresby, in his *History of Leeds*, alludes to Sir William, then still alive, as a baronet 'who had an estate of 1,700*l.* per annum and 4,000*l.* in monies left him by his father, but spent it all upon bad company,' (we cannot quote Thoresby's exact expression); 'that he has not one hundred a year left.' A later account says that he died in extreme want—a tapster in the Fleet prison. Thrybergh was sold to John Savile, of Methley, Esq. in 1705. Of Tamworth, the second son, little is known beyond the publication by him, in 1721, of a volume entitled *A Miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflections, in Prose and Verse, &c.* Leonard, the youngest son, ultimately succeeded to the baronetcy. There is a monument to him in Thrybergh Church, showing that he died in August 1748, aged sixty-nine. With him the male line of this most ancient family became wholly extinct.

INDEX.

AIL

AILESBURY, Earl of, 250, 343, 424, 458
Albemarle, Dukes of, *see* Monk
Aldborough, Richard, 69, 90
Aldborough, co. York, 89, 93, 125, 142, 143, 160, 161, 176, 203, 205, 253, 291, 318, 322, 363
Allington, Lord, 16
Anne, Princess, afterwards Queen, 79, 262, 279, 351, 419, 435
Anstrother, Mr., 23
Apsley, Sir Allan, 133, 140
Argyll, Earl of, 227, 228, 326, 329, 332, 335, 340
Arlington, Lord, 71, 73, 75, 77, *note*, 87
Armstrong, Sir Thomas, 175, 280, 305
Arran, Lord, 373, *note*, 440
Arthington, Mr., 160, 161
Ashover, 2, 84

BARNBOROUGH, 3
Barnsley, 124, 179, 283, 342
Basing House, 12
Bath, 379
Batty, Lieutenant, 175, 259
Bawtry, 175
Beaumont, Colonel, 402, 403
Bedloe, 147–152, 188
Bellasis, Lord, 74, 152, 374, 445
Bellasis, Sir Henry, 58, 60, 65, 66, 68, 415
Belton, Mr., 267
Benson, Robert, 90, 91, 94, 96, 103
Berry, Mr., of Canterbury, 30–33
Berwick, Duke of, 383, 390, 402
Blois, 26
Blood, Colonel, 75
Blythman, Jasper, 104, 256, 267, 312
Bo over, 216, 341
Booth, Sir George, 40
Booth ferry, 189
Boroughbridge, 86, 265, *note*
Boyle, Richard, Earl of Burlington, 46, 71, 76, 122, 174, 189, 200, 216, 281, 419, 435
Boynton, Sir John, 278, 368, 392
Brandon, Lord, 354
Breval, Dr., 98
Bridgman, Sir Orlando, 76
Bridgwater, 338
Brinsford, 9, 10, 62, 79, 266
Bristol, 336, 420
Brook, Sir John, 265, *note*, 284
Brotherton, 3, 313
Brown Family, of York, 47, 62, 144, 160, 183, 185, 216
Brudenell, Lord, 151
Brussels, 35
Buckingham, Duke of, *see* Villiers
Burlington, Earl of, *see* Boyle
Burlington, 73, 87, 126–128, 130, 134, 144, 183–185, 242
Burnet, Dr., 380, *note*, 410, 431, 454
Bury St. Edmunds, 189, 218, 299, 403
Butler, James, Duke of Ormond, 43, 47, 50, 114, 419
Buxton, 187
Byrom, 4

CAEN WOOD, 50
Calverley, of Calverley, 51
Cambridge, 10, 14, 23, 63, 189, 218, 298
Campsall, 313, 374
Cardigan, Lord, 67
Carleton, 186
Carlisle, Earl of, *see* Howard
Carnarvon, Lord, 51
Carrington, Lord, 151
Castleton, Lord, 79, 124, 180, 259, 283
Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Charles II., 52, 53, 193, 303
Cavendish, William, first Duke of Newcastle, 5, 35, 65, 79, 92, 122
Cavendish, Henry Lord Ogle, and second Duke of Newcastle, 57, 65, 87, 92,

CAV

112, 122–124, 173, 177, 179–181, 188, 196, 199–207, 211, 216, 256, 259, 260, 265, 277, 308, 364–367, 375–379, 382–386, 406–413, 418, 420, 422, *note*; 429
Cavendish, Lord, and Devonshire, Earls of, 95, 99, 167, 177, 182, 187, 217, 405, 417, 429
Charles I., 16, 22
Charles II., 26, 35, 47, 49–53, 57, 61, 65, 73, 74, 76, 82, 88, 90, 93, 96, 100, 107, 108, 110–118, 125–131, 135–146, 151–158, 159, 162–174, 183, 184, 191, 195, 196, 198–204, 207, 211, 212, 215, 218, 221–226, 229, 233, 234, 237–239, 241, 242–245, 275, 276, 279, 280, 286, 290, 293, 295–299, 304, 313, 314
Chatham, 74, 77, *note*
Chatsworth, 187, 217
Chesterfield, Lord, 342
Chesterfield, 8, 123
Cholmely, Sir Hugh, 330
Churchill, John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, 272, 349, 419
Clarendon, Earls of, *see* Hyde
Clerkenwell, 227
Cleveland, Duchess of, 53
Clifford, Lord, 46, 88, 104, 124, 176, 177, 258, 321
Clifton, Sir William, 179
Cobbe, Sir Francis, 65
Coleman, Edward, 146, 169
Coningsmark, Count, 237–240, 243
Cooke, Sir George, 52, *note*; 312
Cooke, Mr., 347, 350
Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley, Earl of Shaftesbury, 75, 100, 172, 180, 182, 191, 195, 202, 214, 219, 223–225, 232, 233, 263, 273
Copley, Sir Godfrey, 52, *note*; 102, 128, 148, 160, 161, 173, 176, 205
Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, 44
Cotton, Sir Robert, 354
Coventry, Sir John, 82
Coventry, Sir William, 75, 77
Cromwell, Oliver, 25, 35, 37, 39, 116
Cromwell, Richard, 39
Crossland, Sir Jordan, 52, 60, 66
Cutler, Sir Gervase, 72, 267, 374

DALSTON, Sir William, 62
Danby, Earl of, afterwards First Duke of Leeds. *See* Osborne, Sir Thomas
Darcy, Lord of Aston, 95, 104, 368
Darcy, Colonel John, 348, 350, 407, 410
Dartmouth, Earl of, 301–303, 334, 349, 350, 410

Dawnay, Sir John, Viscount Downe, 104, 205–207, 278
Delamere, Lord, 353–355, 417
Denby, 266
Denmark, Prince George of, 79, 419, 449
Deptford, 221
Derby, 5, 8
Dolben, Dr., Archbishop of York, 285, 310, 343, 360
Doncaster, 16, 52, *note*; 69, 113, 175, 187, 202, 217, 262, 267, 283, 306, 312, 343, 368, 386
Dover, Henry Jermyn, Lord, 363
Dover, 81, 158
Dugdale, 147, 194
Duncombe, Sir John, 75
Duport, Dr., 23

EDINBURGH, 358, 456
Edmonds, Mr., 104, 256
Eglinton, Lord, 202
Ely House, 12
Enfield Chace, 22, 57
Epsom, 363, 399
Essex, Lord, 172
Eton, 363
Exeter, 410
Eyre, John, 411, *note*

FAGG, Sir John, 95, 100
Fairfax, Lord, 15, 40, 59, 102, 124 176, 187, 265, *note*; 335, 371, 373, *note*; 405, 406, *note*; 409, 412, 414
Fairfax, Mr., 70, 366
Fane, Mrs., of Raby, 104
Farnley Wood, 59
Faubert, Monsieur, 240
Fauconberg, Lord, 67–69
Felton, Adam and Sir Henry, 13, 116
Ferrers, Lord, 334
Ferrybridge, 74, 205, 281
Feversham, Lewis Duras, Earl of, 177, 198, 222, 262, 334, 362, *note*; 364, 366, 375–379, 382–386, 424, 425
Fitzharris, Edward, 208, 210–214
Florence, 32
Foljambe, Sir Francis, 13, 18
Fowles, Sir David, 407, *note*
Francland, Sir William, 68
Francland, Anthony, 267
Frankfort, 34
Frescheville, John, Lord, 214, 215, 221, 240–245

GASCOIGNE, Sir Thomas, 186
Gerard, Lord, 149
Gerard, Sir Gilbert, 182
Gibson, John, 407, *note*

Godfrey, Sir Edmundbury, 145, 146, 149, 151, 157, 332
Goodricke, Sir Francis, 89
Goodricke, Sir Henry, 89, 94, 124, 128, 142, 152, 223, 301, 327, 330, 343, 350, 405, 407, *note*; 409–414, 418, 429
Gordon, Duke of, 358, 456
Gower, Major, 69
Gower, Sir Thomas, 59, 71, 412, 414
Grafton, Duke of, 225, 419, 449
Grammont Comte de, 43, *note*
Grantham, 215
Gravesend, 238
Gray's Inn, 23, 103
Greathead Colonel, 59
Gregory, Serjeant, 163
Guiche, Comte de, 82
Gunning, Peter, Bishop of Ely, 196

HALES, Sir Edward, 363, 396, 423
Halifax, Marquis of. *See* Savile, Sir George
Hallamshire, 101, 113, 119, 176, 217, 218, 255
Hamilton, Sir George and Elizabeth, 43, 50, 51
Hardwick, 177
Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., 36, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 79
Hesketh, Thomas, 407, *note*
Hewley, Sir John, 90, 265, *note*
Heywood, Oliver, 103, *note*; 257, *note*
Holborn, 51
Hooton Roberts, 6
Horner, Sir John and Edward, 13
Hotham, Sir John, 59, 410
Hotham, Mrs., 37, 54
Howe, Sir Scrope, 104
Howard, Charles and Edward, Earls of Carlisle, 99, 214, 265
Howard, Cardinal, 35
Howard, Sir Robert, 171
Howard, Lord Thomas, 99, 391, 404
Howard, Sir William, Viscount Stafford, 193–196
Howard, Dukes of Norfolk, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110–120, 159, 256, 277, 342, 391, 399
Howden, 189
Hull, 262, 303, 364, 400, 420, 454
Hungate, Sir Philip, 278
Huntingdon, Earl of, 228, 246, 395
Hyde, Anne, Duchess of York, 64, 85
Hyde, Edward, first Earl of Clarendon, 49, 53, 73, 75, 76, 115
Hyde, Henry, second Earl of Clarendon, 193, 198, 349, 369
Hyde, Laurence, Earl of Rochester, 73, 198, 201, 211, 212, 235, 246, 268–

277, 295, 300, 305, 307, 316, 349, 368
Hyde Park, 58, 395

ICKLES, 8, 9, 10, 62
Inchiquin, Lord, 427
Ingleby, Mr., 186
Irwin, Lord, 67

JACKSON, Sir John, 178, 181
Jeffreys, Sir George, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor, 294, 302, 305, 324, 325, 336, 351, 365, 357, 421, 422
Jenkins, Tobias, 407, *note*; 412
Jennings, Sir Edmund, 141, 167
Jennings, Sir Jonathan, 278
Jessop, Francis, 256–258

KAYE, Sir John, 69, 124, 176–179 205, 258, 284, 321, 357
Kensington, 324, 363
Kilburn, 4
King, Captain, 267
Knaresborough, 89, 405
Knight, Sir Ralph, 256

LA CHASE, Father, 146, 169
Lanesborough, 189
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, 12
Langdale, Lord, 420
Latimer, Lord, 407, *note*
Lauderdale, Duke of, 113, 116, 137
Lawley, Sir Francis, 167
Leech, Mr., and Sir Robert, 26, 29
Leeds, 69, 124, 282, 373, *note*
Leicester Fields, 190, 236, 440
Le Mans, 27
Lewis XIV., King of France, 113, 125, 128, 129, 220
Lewis, Sir John, 72
Lindsey, Earl of, 215
Littleton, Sir Thomas, 209
Long, Sir Robert, 89
Long, Mr., 90, 91, 96
Lumley, Lord, 233, 410, 414, 418
Luzance, 98, 99
Lyme, 331
Lyons, 29

MACARTY, Colonel, 158
Macclesfield, Lord, 354, 410
Maddox, Jack, 202
Manchester, 203
Mansfield, 429
Martin, Sir Roger, 13, 324
Marwood, Sir Henry, 95, 254, 256, 302
Mary, Princess, afterwards Queen, 83, 124

MAR

Mary of Modena, Queen of James II., 92
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas, 125, 143, 152, 296, 335, 373
Maunsell, Sir Edward, 29
Meres, Sir Thomas, 94, 99
Methley, 4, 460, *note*
Middleton, Mr., 403
Monckton, Sir Philip, 4
Monk, George, First Duke of Albemarle, 45, 69, 75, 80
Monk, Christopher, second Duke, 80, 111, 113, 167, 171, 277, 289, 331, 334, 336, 341, 351, 362
Monmouth, Duke of, 82, 129. 132, 135, 159, 167, 172, 181–183, 225, 226, 235, 238, 242, 250, 251, 280, 286–290, 299, 305, 326, 331–341, 354
Monson, Viscount Castlemaine, 13
Montagu, Ralph, Lord, 151–158
Montagu, Wortley, 414
Mordaunt, Lord, 236, 448, 449
Moyser, James, 18. 53, 78, 104, 217, 317–321, 407, *note*; 409
Mulgrave, Earl of, 113, 262, 298
Musgrave, Sir Christopher, 262

NEVISON, 222
Newark, 8, 15, 203
Newcastle, Dukes of. *See* Cavendish
Newmarket, 189, 217, 218, 243–245, 279, 280, 298–300
Norcliffe, Sir Thomas, 48
Norfolk, Dukes of. *See* Howard
North, Francis, Lord Chief Justice, 103
Nottingham, 308, 386, 419

OATES, Titus, 146, 147, 152, 194, 196, 325
Offley, Mr., 354
Oglethorpe, Colonel, 302, 377
Oglethorpe, Sir Theophilus, 379
Orange, Prince of, afterwards William III., 82, 83, 113, 124, 125, 236, 402, 404, 408, 419, 424, *et seq.*
Orleans, Princess of, 81, 82
Ormond, Duke of. *See* Butler
Osborne, Sir Thomas, afterwards Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer, 60, 72, 76, 88, 93, 103, *note*; 106–108, 110–120, 124–131, 134–139, 143–158, 163–169, 184, 188, 199, 222, 231, 274, 275, 295–297, 301, 305, 307, 309, 405–407, 411, *note*; 414–418, 422, *note*; 429, 432, 439–443, 452, 454, 457, 459
Oxford, Earl of, 113, 390
Oxford, 12, 23, 64, 65, 207, 379, 381

SAL

PADUA, 31, 109, 138
Paris, 26, 36, 42–46
Peebles, John, 260, 267
Penn, William, 422
Pennyman, Sir Thomas, 407, *note*
Peterborough, Lord, 334, 424
Pierrepoint, Gertrude, afterwards Marchioness of Halifax, 60, 61
Pilkington, Sir Lyon, 413
Pilkington, Thomas, 4
Player, Sir Thomas, 182, 220
Pontefract, 4, 12, 59, 81. 178, 180, 181, 205, 278, 392, 413, *note*
Portsmouth, Duchess of, 92, 111, 128, 129, 165, 168, 183, 191, 221, 224, 225, 230, 242, 272, 276, 278, 286, 297, 299, 304
Portsmouth, 52, 420
Potternewton, 3
Powis, Lord, 152, 401
Pressett, Mrs., 186
Preston, Lord, 375, 377, 406
Prickett, Mr., 401
Pulteney, Sir William, 24
Putney, 362

QUEENSBERRY, Duke of, 358, 360, 419

RAINS, Alderman, 374, 400
Rainsford, Lord Chief Justice, 105, 117
Ramsden, Sir John, 4
Ramsden, Mr., 256, 312
Ramsden, Alderman, 264, 402
Ratcliffe, Sir Francis, 151
Reresby Family. *See* Chapter I., 62, 63, 78, 87, 248, 251, 283, 298, 357, 353, 403, 447, *et passim*
Ribstone, 89
Richmond, Duke of, 225–227, 277
Rigden, Mr., 267
Ringstone Hill, 178
Robinson, Sir Metcalfe, 52, *note*; 317–320
Rokeby, Thomas, 404, 407, *note*
Rooksby, Sir William, 14
Rooksby, Mr. 265, *note*
Rotherham, 3, 5, 6, 122, 144, 175, 185, 205, 215, 256, 259, 266, 277, 282, 307, 374, 393, 428
Rufford, 181, 188, 204, 207, 379, 380, *note*
Rupert, Prince, 26, 69, 89
Russell, Lord William, 61, 167, 182, 332
Rymer, Ralph, 59

ST. OMER, 146, 325
Salisbury, Earl of, 424

SAL

Salisbury, 64, 419
Sands, Sir Thomas, 50, 82
Saumur, 11, 26, 27, 28
Savile, Sir George, afterwards Marquis of Halifax, 59, 67, 68, 87, 100, 167, 168, 181, 188, 191–193, 195, 197–201, 211, 212, 215, 216, 219, 221, 223–231, 234, 243–245, 252, 258–261, 265, 266, 268–276, 285–290, 293–297, 300, 301, 305, 308, 316, 343, 345, 358, 385, 395, 420, 431, *et seq.*
Savile, John, 460, *note*
Savile, Robert, 4
Savile, Thomas, 127, *note*
Sawyer, Sir Robert. 361
Scarborough, 52, 54, 406
Scarsdale, Lord, 435
Sedley, Catherine, Countess of Dorchester, 356
Selby, 47
Seymour, Edward, 118, 235, 269, 275, 431
Shaftesbury, Earl of. *See* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper
Sheffield, 5, 101, 122, 123, 177, 187, 188, 257, *note*; 258, 311, 373, *note*; 411, *note*; 428
Shelley, Sir Charles, 29
Sherley, Doctor, 95, 100
Shrewsbury, Earl and Countess of, 67, 93
Shuttleworth, Mr., 161
Sidney, Algernon, 285–288, 332
Slingsby, Sir Thomas, 52, *note*; 54, 128, 239, 241, 244, 263, 296, 302, 314, 321, 327, 373, 390
Smith, Sir William, 233
Smithson, Colonel, 59
Somerset, Duke of, 435
Somerset House, 8, 149, 152, 325
Spencer, Lord, 362, *note*
Spencer, Sir Thomas, 24
Stafford, Viscount. *See* Sir William Howard
Stapleton, Sir Bryan, 176
Stapleton, Sir Miles, 186
Steward, Sir Simeon, 8
Stockdale, Mr., 59, 265, *note*; 413
Strafford, Earls of. *See* Wentworth
Strickland, Mr., 81
Strickland, Sir Roger, 291, 322, 373, *note*
Sunderland, Earl of, 113, 183, 349, 358, 398, 406
Swaile, Sir Solomon, 125, 133, 138–143

TADCASTER, 52, *note*
Talbot, Richard, Lord Tyrconnel, 369, 427, 437

WIM

Tamworth, John, 8
Tankard, Christopher, 186, 202, 203. 407, 414, 418
Taunton, 334, 336
Tempest, Lady, 186
Temple, Sir William, 458
Templeborough, 56
Thompson, Edward, 264, 265, 402
Thompson, Sir Henry, 265, *note*; 279
Thompson, Sir Stephen, 367, 401, 402
Thouars, 28, 29
Thynne, Thomas, 230, 235–240, 243
Tichborne, Sir Henry, 151
Tindalls of Brotherton, 3, 56, 313
Torbay, 410
Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, 152
Trevor, Sir John, 326
Tryon, Sir Samuel, 84
Turner, Mr., 260, 267
Tuscany, Prince of, 79
Twing, Mr., 186
Tyrwhitt, Marmaduke, 3

VANBRUGH, Sir John, 413, *note*
Vavasour, Sir Walter, 403
Venice, 31, 32
Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, 40, 52, *note*; 57, 58, 60, 65–73, 76. 88, 92, 93, 101, 278, 298, 308, 373

WAKEFIELD, 103, *note*; 127, *note*; 260, 342
Wakeman, Sir George, 147
Waller, Edmund, 97
Waller, Sir William, 265, *note*; 410
Wallingford House, 128
Ward, Sir Patience, 195, 205
Warton, Sir Ralph, 407
Watkinson, Dr., 367, 398
Welbeck, 65, 177, 188, 206, 277, 364, 366, 378, 380, 382, 420
Wentworths, Earls of Strafford, 5–7, 79. 85, 127 *note*; 180, 267
Wentworth, Sir George, 14
Wentworth, Sir Michael, of Woolley, 256, 312, 322, 409
Wentworth, Sir William, of Wakefield, 127, 133, 134, 138–143
Wentworth, Mr., of Woolley, 91, 111. 142, 143, 160
Wharton, Sir Michael, 254
Wheeler, Sir Charles, 167
Whitefriars, 22
William III. *See* Prince of Orange
Williamson, Sir Joseph, 77, 116, 151
Willoughby, 350, 414, 417, 422, *note*; 449
Wiltshire, Lord, 410
Wimbledon, 128

WIN

Winchelsea, Lord, 424
Winchester, Marquis of, 379, 380, *note*
Windsor, 182, 183, 247, 252, 304, 375, 399, 402
Worcester, 73, 379
Worden, Sir John, 134, 187
Worksop, 5, 92
Worsley, Thomas, 407
Wortley, Francis, 7, *note*
Wortley, Sidney, 467

YARBURGH Family, 14, 17, 18, 23, 42, 54, 80, 92, 104, 216, 413, *note*
Yarmouth, Earl of, 120, 121, 424
York, Duke of, afterwards James II., 26, 45, 48, 49, 51, 53, 57, 61, 64, 65, 70, 81, 82, 87, 88, 92, 105, 111, 115,

YOR

116, 119, 125–143, 146, 150–153, 158, 159, 162–172, 177–185, 189–193, 199, 208–212, 217, 226, 239, 243–250, 269–272, 279, 280, 286–290, 295–298, 303, 315, 316, 323–336, 340, 344–351, 354–364, 370–374, 381, 382, 387–390, 393–402, 406, 409, 415, 419, 421, 423–427, 433, 436, 441, 444, 450, 455, 458
York, 14, 15, 38, 52, *note*; 60, 64, 66, 68, 72, 75, 143, 159, 160, 175, 178, 180, 186, 187, 216, 246, 249, 253–255, 257, 262–265, 277–281, 287, 292, 297, 300, 302, 306, 309, 313–323, 327, 341, 355, 357, 359, 360, 364–367, 369, 373, *note*; 386–388, 391, 400–417, 420, 424, 443, 452

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INDEX.

Acton's Modern Cookery 39
Aird's Blackstone Economised 39
Alpine Club Map of Switzerland 33
Alpine Guide (The) 33
Amos's Jurisprudence 10
——— Primer of the Constitution 10
Anderson's Strength of Materials 20
Armstrong's Organic Chemistry 20
Arnold's (Dr.) Christian Life 29
——— Lectures on Modern History 2
——— Miscellaneous Works 12
——— School Sermons 29
——— Sermons 29
——— (T.) Manual of English Literature 12
Arnould's Life of Lord Denman 7
Atherstone Priory 39
Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson ... 13
Ayre's Treasury of Bible Knowledge 38

Bacon's Essays, by *Whately* 10
——— Life and Letters, by *Spedding* ... 10
——— Works 10
Bain's Mental and Moral Science 11
——— on the Senses and Intellect 11
Baker's Two Works on Ceylon 32
Ball's Guide to the Central Alps 38
——— Guide to the Western Alps 38
——— Guide to the Eastern Alps 38
Becker's Charicles and Gallus 34
Black's Treatise on Brewing 39
Blackley's German-English Dictionary 15
Blaine's Rural Sports 36
Bloxam's Metals 20
Boultbee on 39 Articles 28
Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine . 27
——— Handbook of Steam Engine 27
——— Treatise on the Steam Engine ... 27
——— Improvements in the same 27
Bowdler's Family *Shakspeare* 35
Bramley-Moore's Six Sisters of the Valley . 39
Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art 22
Bray's Manual of Anthropology 22
——— Philosophy of Necessity 11
Brinkley's Astronomy 17
Browne's Exposition of the 39 Articles 28
Brunel's Life of *Brunel* 7
Buckle's History of Civilisation 3
——— Posthumous Remains 12
Bull's Hints to Mothers 39
——— Maternal Management of Children . 39
Burgomaster's Family (The) 39
Burke's Rise of Great Families 8
——— Vicissitudes of Families 8
Busk's Folk-lore of Rome 34
——— Valleys of Tirol 32

Cabinet Lawyer 39
Campbell's Norway 33
Cates's Biographical Dictionary 8
——— and *Woodward's* Encyclopædia ... 5
Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths ... 13
Chesney's Indian Polity 3
——— Modern Military Biography 3
——— Waterloo Campaign 3
Clough's Lives from Plutarch 4
Colenso on Moabite Stone &c. 32
———'s Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. 32
——— Speaker's Bible Commentary ... 32
Collins's Mineralogy of Cornwall 27
——— Perspective 26
Commonplace Philosopher in Town and Country, by A. K. H. B. 13
Comte's Positive Polity 8
Comyn's Elena 34
Congreve's Essays 9
——— Politics of Aristotle 10
Conington's Translation of Virgil's Æneid 36
——— Miscellaneous Writings 14
Contanseau's Two French Dictionaries ... 14
Conybeare and *Howson's* Life and Epistles of St. Paul 29
Cotton's Memoir and Correspondence 7
Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit ... 13
Cox's (G. W.) Aryan Mythology 4
——— Crusades 6
——— History of Greece 4
——— Tale of the Great Persian War 4
——— Tales of Ancient Greece ... 34
——— and *Jones's* Teutonic Tales 34
Crawley's Thucydides 4
Creasy on British Constitution 3
Cresy's Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering 27
Critical Essays of a Country Parson 14
Crookes's Chemical Analysis 24
——— Dyeing and Calico-printing 28
Culley's Handbook of Telegraphy 26
Cusack's Student's History of Ireland 3

D'Aubigné's Reformation in the Time of *Calvin* 6

Davidson's Introduction to New Testament 31
Dead Shot (The), by *Marksman* 37
De Caisne and *Le Maout's* Botany 23
De Morgan's Paradoxes 13
De Tocqueville's Democracy in America... 9
Disraeli's Lord George Bentinck 7
——— Novels and Tales 35
Dobson on the Ox 36
Dove's Law of Storms 18
Doyle's Fairyland 24
Drew's Reasons of Faith..... 29

Eastlake's Gothic Revival 25
——— Hints on Household Taste..... 26
Edwards's Rambles among the Dolomites 33
Elements of Botany 22
Ellicott's Commentary on Ephesians 30
——— Galatians 30
Pastoral Epist. 30
Philippians, &c. 30
Thessalonians. 30
Lectures on Life of Christ 29
Epochs of History 6
Evans's Ancient Stone Implements 22
Ewald's History of Israel 30

Fairbairn's Application of Cast and Wrought Iron to Building... 28
——— Information for Engineers..... 28
——— Treatise on Mills and Millwork 27
Farrar's Chapters on Language 13
——— Families of Speech 13
Fitzwygram on Horses and Stables..... 37
Forsyth's Essays 9
Fowler's Collieries and Colliers 38
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Freeman's Historical Geography of Europe 5
From January to December 14
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Ganot's Elementary Physics 19
——— Natural Philosophy 19
Gardiner's Buckingham and Charles 3
——— Life of Christ 32
Thirty Years' War 6
Gilbert and *Churchill* Dolomites 32
Girdlestone Bible Synonyms..... 29
Goodeve's Mechanics. 20
— Mechanism 20
Grant's Ethics of Aristotle 10
Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson..... 14
Greville's Journal 1
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Griffith's Sermons for the Times 29
Grove on Correlation of Physical Forces... 18
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Hare on Election of Representatives 14
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——— Polar World 21
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——— Subterranean World. ... 21
——— Tropical World 21
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Helmholtz's Scientific Lectures 18
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Jameson's Legends of Saints and Martyrs. 25
——— Legends of the Madonna..... 25
——— Legends of the Monastic Orders 25
——— Legends of the Saviour..... 25
Jenkin's Electricity and Magnetism..... 20
Jerram's Lycidas of Milton 35
Jerrold's Life of Napoleon 1
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Kalisch's Commentary on the Bible 30
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Kenyon's (Lord) Life. 7
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Latham's English Dictionary..... 14
Laughton's Nautical Surveying 18
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Lawrence on Rocks 22
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——— Edward the Third 3
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——— Gardening..... 28
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Lyra Germanica 25, 31

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——— Miscellaneous Writings 12
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——— Todas..... 22
Marshman's History of India..... 3
——— Life of Havelock 8
Martineau's Christian Life 31
——— Hymns. 31
Maunder's Biographical Treasury..... 38
——— Geographical Treasury 38
——— Historical Treasury 38
——— Scientific and Literary Treasury 38
——— Treasury of Knowledge 38
——— Treasury of Natural History ... 38
Maxwell's Theory of Heat 20
May's History of Democracy 2
——— History of England 2
Melville's Digby Grand 39
——— General Bounce 39
——— Gladiators 39
——— Good for Nothing 39
——— Holmby House 39
——— Interpreter 39
——— Kate Coventry 39
——— Queen's Maries 39
Mendelssohn's Letters 8
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——— on Horse's Teeth and Stables..... 37
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——— Hamilton's Philosophy 9
——— System of Logic 9
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——— Unsettled Questions 9
Miller's Elements of Chemistry 23
——— Inorganic Chemistry..... 20

Minto's (Lord) Life and Letters..... 6
Mitchell's Manual of Architecture..... 25
——— Manual of Assaying 28
Modern Novelist's Library..... 34
Monsell's 'Spiritual Songs' 31
Moore's Irish Melodies, illustrated..... 35
——— Lalla Rookh, illustrated 35
Morell's Elements of Psychology 11
——— Mental Philosophy 11
Morris's French Revolution 3
Müller's Chips from a German Workshop. 12
——— Science of Language 12
——— Science of Religion 5

New Testament Illustrated with Wood Engravings from the Old Masters..... 24
Northcott on Lathes and Turning..... 26

O'Conor's Commentary on Hebrews 30
——— Romans 30
——— St. John 30
Odling's Course of Practical Chemistry ... 24
Owen's Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrate Animals 20
Owen's Lectures on the Invertebrata 20

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Pattison's Casauban..... 7
Payen' ndustrial Chemistry..... 26
Pewtner's Comprehensive Specifier 39
Pierce's Chess Problems 39
Pole's Game of Whist 39
Prendergast's Mastery of Languages 15
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——— Moon 17
——— Orbs around Us 17
——— Other Worlds than Ours 17
——— Saturn 17
——— Scientific Essays (New Series) ... 20
——— Sun 17
——— Transits of Venus 17
——— Two Star Atlases... 18
——— Universe 17
Public Schools Atlas 16
——— Modern Geography 16
——— Ancient Geography 16

Ranken on Strains in Trusses..... 28
Rawlinson's Parthia... 4
——— Sassanians 4
Recreations of a Country Parson 13
Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists 24
Reilly's Map of Mont Blanc 37
——— Monte Rosa 37
Reynardson' Down the Road 36
Rich' Dictionary of Antiquities 15
River' Rose Amateur's Guide 22
Rogers's Eclipse of Faith..... 29
——— Defence of Eclipse of Faith 29
——— Essays..... 9

Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases 14
Ronald's Fly-Fisher's Entomology 37
Rothschild's Israelites 30
Russell on the Christian Religion 6
——— English Constitution 2
———'s Recollections and Suggestions ... 2

Sandars's Justinian's Institutes 10
Sanford's English Kings 2
Savory's Geometric Turning 26
Schellen's Spectrum Analysis 18
Scott's Albert Durer 24
——— Papers on Civil Engineering 28
Seaside Musing, by A. K. H. B. 13
Seebohm's Oxford Reformers of 1498 3
——— Protestant Revolution 6
Sewell's History of the Early Church 5
——— Passing Thoughts on Religion 31
——— Preparation for Communion 31
——— Principles of Education 14
——— Readings for Confirmation 31
——— Readings for Lent 31
——— Examination for Confirmation ... 31
——— Stories and Tales 35
——— Thoughts for the Age 31
——— Thoughts for the Holy Week 31
Sharp's Post-office Gazetteer 16
Shelley's Workshop Appliances 20
Short's Church History 5
Simpson's Meeting the Sun 32
Smith's Paul's Voyage and Shipwreck 30
——— (*Sydney*) Essays 12
——— ——— Life and Letters 7
——— ——— Miscellaneous Works ... 12
——— ——— ——— Wit and Wisdom 12
——— (Dr. R. A.) Air and Rain 18
Sneyd's Cyllene 34
Southey's Doctor 13
——— Poetical Works 35
Stanley's History of British Birds 21
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Biography 7
——— Freethinking and Plainspeaking 9
Stepping Stones (the Series) 40
Stirling's Secret of Hegel 11
——— Sir *William Hamilton* 11
Stonehenge on the Dog 37
——— on the Greyhound 37
Sunday Afternoons at the Parish Church of a University City, by A. K. H. B. 13
Supernatural Religion 31

Taylor's History of India 3
——— Manual of Ancient History 6
——— Manual of Modern History 6
——— (*Jeremy*) Works, edited by *Eden*. 31
Text-Books of Science 19
Thirlwall's History of Greece 4
Thomson's Laws of Thought 11
Thorpe's Quantitative Analysis 20
——— and *Muir's* Qualitative Analysis ... 20
Thudichum's Chemical Physiology 23
Todd (A.) on Parliamentary Government ... 2
——— and *Bowman's* Anatomy and Physiology of Man 24
Trench's Realities of Irish Life 22
Trollope's Barchester Towers 39
——— Warden 39
Tyndall's American Lectures on Light ... 20
——— Belfast Address 19
——— Diamagnetism 20
——— Fragments of Science 19
——— Hours of Exercise in the Alps ... 33
——— Lectures on Electricity 20
——— Lectures on Light 20
——— Lectures on Sound 20
——— Heat a Mode of Motion 20
——— Molecular Physics 20

Ueberweg's System of Logic 11
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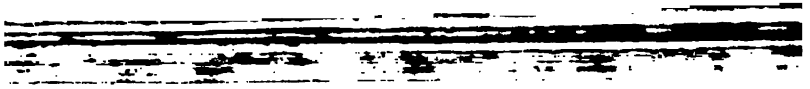
Weinhold's Experimental Physics 19
Wellington's Life, by *Gleig* 8
Whately's English Synonymes 14
——— Life and Correspondence 6
——— Logic 12
——— Rhetoric 12
White and *Donkin's* English Dictionary ... 15
——— and *Riddle's* Latin Dictionaries ... 15
Whitworth on Guns and Steel 27
Wilcocks's Sea-Fisherman 36
Williams's Aristotle's Ethics 10
Willis's Principles of Mechanism 20
Willoughby's (Lady) Diary 32
Wood's Bible Animals 22
——— Homes without Hands 21
——— Insects at Home 21
——— Insects Abroad 21
——— Out of Doors 21
——— Strange Dwellings 21

Yonge's English-Greek Lexicons 16
——— Horace 30
Youatt on the Dog 37
——— on the Horse 37

Zeller's Socrates 5
——— Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics ... 5

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